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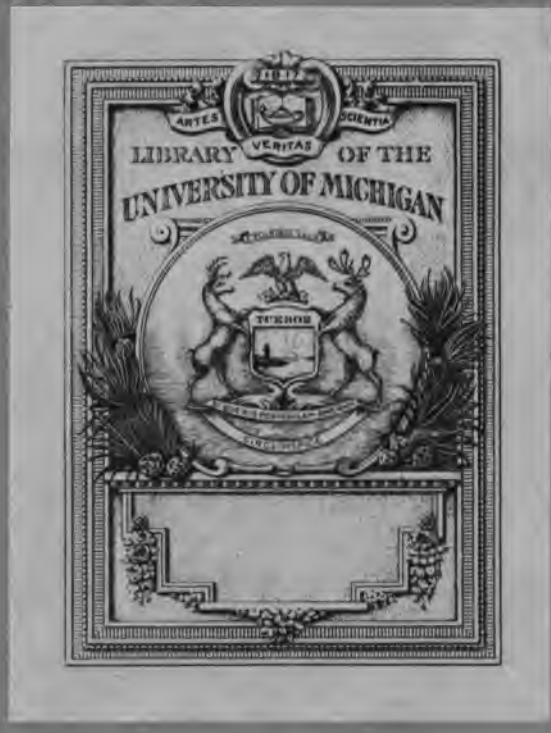
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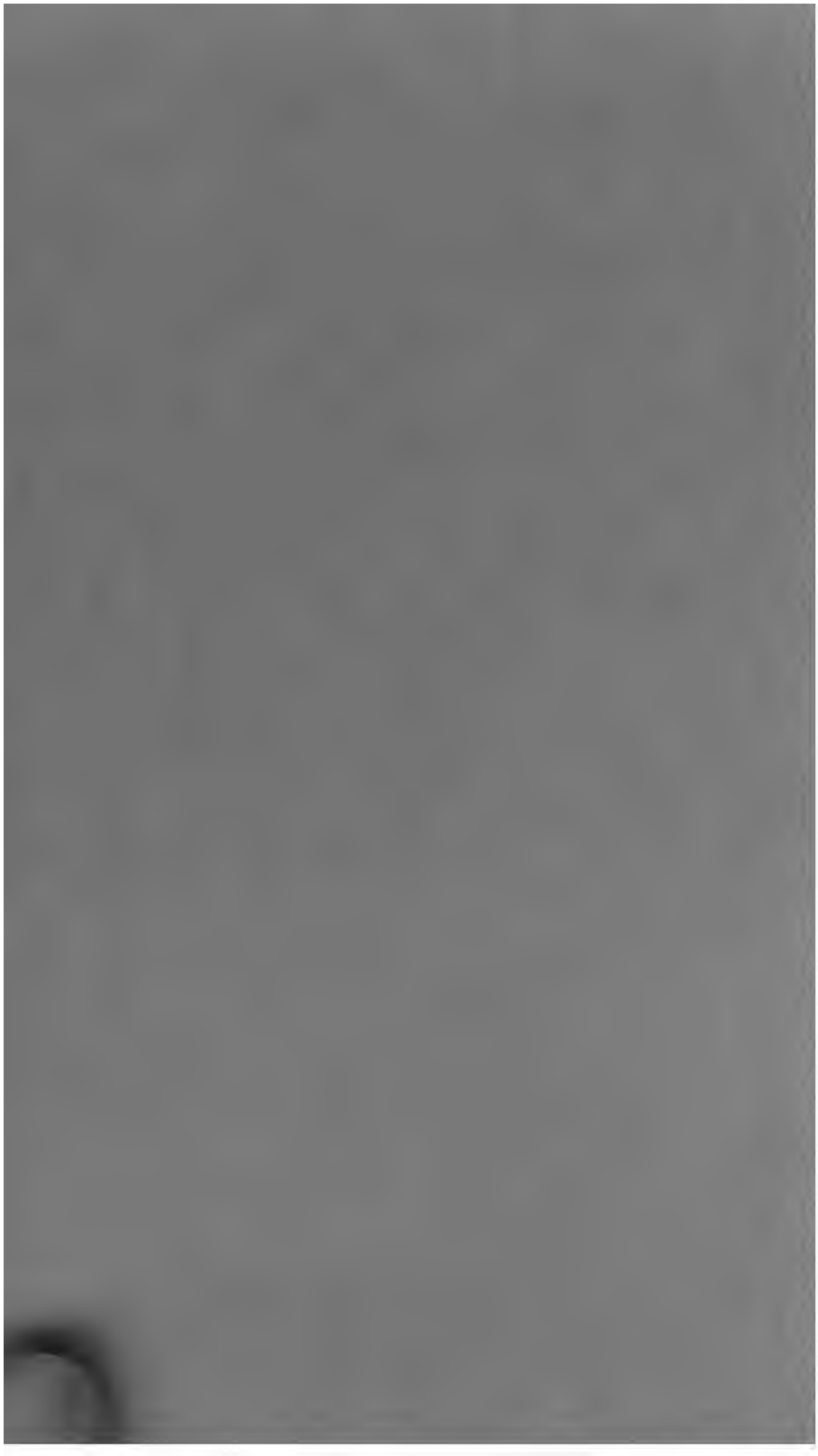

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THE TRAVELS

OF

PEDRO TEIXEIRA.

SECOND SERIES.

No. IX.

THE TRAVELS

OF

PEDRO TEIXEIRA;

1165

WITH HIS

"KINGS OF HARMUZ,"

AND EXTRACTS FROM HIS

"KINGS OF PERSIA."

Translated and Annotated by

WILLIAM F. SINCLAIR,

BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE (RETD.);

With further Notes and an Introduction by

DONALD FERGUSON.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

PEDRO TEIXEIRA.

REGARDING Pedro Teixeira we know very little beyond what he himself tells us in his book.[1] Dr. M. Kayserling, in his Introduction to I. J. Benjamin's *Eight Years in Asia and Africa* (Hanover, 1863), says: "Our *Pedro Teixeira*[2] belonged to one of those Portuguese-Jewish families who dared not openly avow their religion, or educate their children in the faith of their fathers . . . . Although born of Jewish parents, who in all probability resided in Lisbon, he was yet not educated in the Jewish faith. Notwithstanding his submission to the will of the Almighty, which seemed to have been innate in him, and which may be traced in almost every leaf of his book of travels, . . . we still think

[1] The best biographical notice of Teixeira that I have seen is that in the *Biographie Universelle*, tom. xli, p. 206.

[2] Dr. Kayserling refers to the fact that there were several noted men of this same name; and this is also pointed out in a footnote on p. 29 of the *Viaje del capitán Pedro Teixeira aguas arriba del rio de las Amazonas* (1638-1639), by Mancos Jimenez de la Espada (Madrid, 1889). A celebrated family of cartographers of the same surname were contemporaries, and possibly relatives, of our traveller (see Sousa Viterbo's *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portuguezes*, Lisbon, 1898, pp. 294-299).

that we are able to infer from his narrative, that during a great part of his life—during his travels—that preceded his arrival in Antwerp, he was a Christian, and even a devout Catholic."[1]

As to his parentage, birth, and early life, Pedro Teixeira himself, however, is silent: except that he tells us, in the prefatory note to his book, that he was in his youth much addicted to the study of history.

To what profession or trade he was trained we do not know; and it is not easy to ascertain from his narratives what was his occupation while in the East.[2]

Nor does Teixeira tell us the cause of his going to India, or even the year in which he first sailed from Europe to Asia. The earliest date that he mentions in connection with his travels is 1587,[3] and we may therefore conclude that he arrived in India from Portugal in one of the ships of the fleet of 1586. Regarding this fleet, Couto gives us details in his *Decada Decima*, Liv. VIII, cap. vi. He says:—

The King was advised that a fleet was being got ready in England,[4] its destination being unknown; and because, in case

[1] In a letter to me Mr. Sinclair says: "I take Teixeira never to have been a Christian but 'from the teeth out.'"

[2] Judging by his frequent references to drugs and their effects, and by the fact of his being present on the occasion mentioned on p. 233, *infra*, I cannot help thinking that he was a physician. This seems to be supported by the incident related in chap. ix of the *Viage* (p. 96, *infra*). Moreover, in his *Kings of Persia* (Bk. I, chap. xxxv) Teixeira describes at some length the practices of physicians in different countries of the East, mostly from his own experience. I think it is probable that Teixeira accompanied the various expeditions mentioned below in a medical capacity. Mr. Sinclair, writing to me, says: "I agree with you in supposing him to have been a physician—rather an 'irregular practitioner' probably, and concerned in the drug trade, and probably a speculator in gems."

[3] The sea-flood mentioned by him at p. 230 *infra*, as having occurred in 1585, I take to be described from hearsay report on his visit to Ceylon in February, 1588.

[4] This was doubtless the fleet of three ships that sailed on July 21st under the command of Thomas Cavendish, on a voyage round the world by the Straits of Magellan and the Malayan Archipelago (see the references to it in *Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Simancas*, vol. iii, 1580-86, pp. 578, 600, 610).

they sought to go out to India to the parts about Malaca, he wished to advise the captain of that fortress, in order that he might get ready, and the Viceroy of India, that he might send him help: therefore he ordered speed to be made with the galleon *Reys Magos*, which was being got ready for Malaca, as captain of which had been nominated João Gago de Andrade, a fidalgo, and a man that had been very long in India;[1] and on 5th January, 1586,[2] she set sail.[3] And the King ordered to embark therein Estevão da Veiga, with letters for the Viceroy D. Duarte, and one for the captain of Moçambique, in which he told him that on that ship's arriving there he was at once to get ready some vessel for Estevão da Veiga to go in to India, to fulfil his mission. . . . The rest of the fleet, which was to go to India, left during the whole of March,[4] and there went as captain-major thereof D. Jeronymo Coutinho,[5] who embarked in the ship *S. Thomé*; the other captains of his company were Antonio Gomes of the galleon *Bom Jesus*, otherwise called *Caranja*,[6] in which embarked Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, full of honors and rewards, because he carried the captaincy of Malaca, and a voyage to Japão, and the captaincy of Baçaim, with which he had been provided some years before on the marriage of a daughter, and the habit of Christ[7] with a good allowance; and, as was afterwards known, he came in the second succession to the government of India, to which he soon

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[1] Couto first mentions him in his *Dec. VIII*, cap. vii, as making a voyage from Goa to Maluco in April, 1565.

[2] Fr. João dos Santos gives this same date (*Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. I, Liv. II, cap. xvii; Theal's *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. xvii, p. 342). Luiz de Figueiredo Falcão, however, in his *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda*, etc., says (p. 177) that the *Reys Magos* sailed on December 29th, 1585.

[3] On February 14th she encountered an English ship and pinnace, with which she had a severe fight, but succeeded in beating them off after considerable damage. Couto, who gives a graphic description of the affair, says that João Gago, who was old and gouty, issued his orders seated on a chair on the poop. It is not surprising to learn that the old captain died soon after his ship reached Malacca in October.

[4] Figueiredo Falcão (*op. cit.*, p. 178) says that the fleet sailed on the 11th of April; and to the ships here named he adds the *Conceição*, Captain Dom Jeronimo Mascarenhas. Friar João dos Santos, who went to Mozambique in the *São Thomé*, says that they all left Lisbon on April 13th, 1586 (*Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. I, Liv. I, cap. i; Pt. II, Liv. II, cap. xviii; Theal's *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. xvii, pp. 184, 343).

[5] See *infra* regarding him.

[6] This ship was broken up on arriving in India (see Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 189).

[7] That is, of the Order of Christ.

succeeded by the death of the Viceroy D. Duarte,[1] as we shall tell in its place, a thing that has seldom occurred in India. The other ships were the *Salvador*,[2] Captain Miguel de Abreu, of the *Reliquias*[3] Francisco Cavalleiro, and of the *S. Filippe*[4] João Trigueiros, and all together took their course with great caution and vigilance on account of the report that there was of English.

If Pedro Teixeira was on board one of these ships,[5] he must have reached Goa in September, 1586.[6] What his first impressions of India were we do not know; but what Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, was like when our traveller first set foot therein, we fortunately do know, having had left us a graphic description from the pen of that talented young Netherlander, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten,[7] who had been a resident there for some years when Teixeira arrived.

Just before our traveller's arrival at Goa, news reached that city of the humiliating defeat that had resulted to the fleet dispatched in the previous May, under the command of Ruy Gonsalves da Camara, to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf,[8] and of the visit of the Turks to the north-eastern coasts of Africa, which had resulted in the carrying away captive of a number of Portuguese, and acts of bad faith on the part of several of the rulers of those

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[1] See *infra*, p. xi.

[2] Regarding this ship, see *infra*, p. vi.

[3] The fate of this ship is described by Linschoten (vol. ii, pp. 191-193).

[4] This ship returned from Mozambique, and was captured by Drake off the Azores (see Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 123; Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 167; *Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Simancas*, vol. iv, 1587-1603, pp. xxiii, 124 *et seq.*).

[5] Perhaps he was on the *Bom Jesus*, alias *Caranja*, with Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, whom he afterwards (apparently) accompanied to Ceylon (see *infra*, p. ix).

[6] See Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 189.

[7] See Hakluyt Society's edition of Linschoten, vol. i, p. 175 *et seq.*

[8] See Linschoten, vol ii, pp. 183-189; Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. VII, caps. vii, xv-xviii; also the King's censure of the expedition in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 119-120. Ruy Gonsalves da Camara was uncle to the Viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes.

parts.[1] On the receipt of this intelligence the Viceroy in Council resolved to dispatch another fleet to punish these treaty-breakers, and to prevent the Turks from repeating their aggressions; and probably one of the first sights that met Teixeira's view on reaching Goa was some of the vessels being got ready for this expedition. Learning that this fleet, after accomplishing its purpose, was to proceed to Hormuz, where the captain of one of the ships, Belchior Calaça, was to consult with the captain of that place regarding the building of a fort at Máskat to defend it from the Turks,[2] Teixeira appears to have thought that it would be well for him to take this opportunity of seeing several places that he might not again have the chance of visiting. Accordingly, he applied for and obtained permission to accompany this punitive expedition, which, consisting of two galleons, three galleys, and thirteen foists, under the command of Martim Affonso de Mello, set sail from Goa on 9th January, 1587.[3]

The first place to which the fleet came was Ampaza,[4] which was stormed, the king and his followers being put to the sword, and the town and its environs entirely destroyed. Thence the ships proceeded to Pate, the ruler of which threw himself on the mercy of the Portuguese, and was forgiven. The island of Lamo was next visited, the king of which place was the betrayer of Roque de Brito and his companions into the hands of the Turks. This traitor, on hearing of the approach of the avenging

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[1] See Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. VII, cap. viii; J. de Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. I, Liv. v, caps. iii-vi (translated in Pinkerton's *Collection*, vol. xvi, pp. 725-728).

[2] On this fort see *Geographical Journal*, vol. x, pp. 609-612, vol. xi, pp. 187-190, 305, 306.

[3] See Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. VII, cap. x. Linschoten (vol. ii, p. 194) says that it left in December, 1586.

[4] Regarding the situation of this place, see Burton's *Camoens: Life and Lusiads*, vol. ii, p. 508.

fleet, had fled inland, leaving the widow of the former ruler to face the Portuguese. This woman having been recognised as ruler in place of the fugitive usurper, the Portuguese went on to Malindi, where they were received with all honour by the king, who asked and was granted permission to accompany the fleet to Mombasa. The latter place had been strongly garrisoned and mounted with ordnance; but after first making a show of resistance, and then soliciting terms of peace, the king and all his people vacated the town, which the Portuguese entered, looted, and burnt. Seeing this destruction from the mainland, the king of Mombasa once more wrote asking for peace, and confessing his faults. The king of Malindi acted as intermediary, but, as a satisfactory agreement could not be arrived at, Martim Affonso resolved to leave for the Persian Gulf. First, however, he dispatched a vessel with letters for the Viceroy, and the salted head of the late king of Ampaza[1] as a present for him.

Just as Martim Affonso de Mello was about to set sail with his fleet for Hormuz, there arrived at Mombasa, in a sorely storm-shattered condition, the ship *Salvador*, which had left Cochin for Europe at the end of 1586, or early in 1587, laden with pepper and other commodities. Owing to the valuable cargo that the *Salvador* had on board, Martim Affonso resolved to take the ship along with him to Hormuz, where she was broken up, and the cargo transhipped to another vessel. On the way to Hormuz the fleet called at Malindi, where the king supplied it with provisions; at Socotra, where it watered; at the *aguada* (watering-place) of Teive (Taiwa), south of Máskat; and then, according to Teixeira's statement (p. 223 *infra*), at Máskat itself, where our traveller was astonished at the

[1] Linschoten (vol. ii, p. 195) says (erroneously) that it was the head of the king of Pate, and describes what was done with the gruesome object.

abundance of fish and the curious way by which the galley-slaves caught them. After a few days' stay at Hormuz, the fleet sailed for the Strait of Hormuz; but, on arriving at Kishm, Martim Affonso became so ill that the ships returned to Hormuz, where the commander died and was buried. The fleet remained in the Strait until September, when it once more returned to Hormuz, whence it sailed, under the command of Simão da Costa,[1] Martim Affonso's father-in-law, for Goa, where it arrived in October, 1587.[2]

Apparently, Pedro Teixeira had been with Martim Affonso's fleet from the time of its departure from Goa; and, as far as we know, he returned thither with Simão da Costa. But, except for his experience at Máskat, he passes over this expedition in silence.

Not long after the departure of Martim Affonso's fleet, news reached Goa (at the end of March, 1587), from Malacca, of the desperate condition to which that city had been reduced by the action of "Rajale," the king of Johor, who had blockaded the Straits of Malacca, thus preventing the Portuguese ships from passing between India and China, and also causing the unfortunate inhabitants of Malacca to suffer the horrors of famine by the stoppage of supplies. On receipt of these tidings the Viceroy summoned his Council, and it was resolved that loans should be raised from the citizens of Goa, Bassein, and Chaul, to provide succour for the distressed city. This was done; and on 28th April, a fleet of three galleons, two galleys, four galliots and seven foists, with five hundred men and abundant munitions, under the command of D. Paulo de

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[1] This man was valuer of the Hormuz custom-house, and had for many years acted as *vedor da fazenda* (comptroller of revenue) of that place. There are several references to him in the *Arch. Port.-Or.*, fasc. iii.

[2] See Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. VIII, cap. x, Liv. IX, caps. i, iii; *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 170-171. Cf. also Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 194-196.

Lima, set sail for Malacca, which place was relieved; and the city of Johor, after a short siege, was stormed, burnt, and sacked.[1]

But Malacca was not the only Portuguese possession that needed relief. Since the early part of 1586, the fortress of Columbo, in Ceylon, had been besieged by the arch-enemy of the Portuguese, the "tyrant Rajú" (Rája Sinha I), with an immense force,[2] and, though occasional help had been sent to them from India, the defenders had barely been able to hold their own.[3] At length, in September, 1587, urgent appeals for reinforcements reached the Viceroy from the captain of Columbo, João Correa de Brito;[4] and after dispatching thither what ships and men were available, as also provisions, Dom Duarte and his Council resolved to get ready and send to Columbo a large fleet, which was to be joined there by the fleet of D. Paulo de Lima, to whom word had already been sent that he was to sail as soon as possible for Ceylon. For the command of this fleet the Viceroy chose Manoel de Sousa Coutinho,[5] on whom he bestowed the title of Captain-major of the Indian Sea.

Just when steps were being taken for the preparation of this fleet, the ships of Affonso de Mello's expedition, under

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[1] Full and very graphic details of these events are given by Couto (*Dec. X*, Liv. VIII, caps. xiii-xvii, Liv. IX, caps. vi-xii). Linschoten's account (vol. ii, pp. 193-194, 197, 198-200) contains a number of inaccuracies. (See also *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 177-178, 274-276, 380.)

[2] Cf. *infra*, pp. 221, 235.

[3] Full details of this siege are given by Couto (*Dec. X*, Liv. VII, caps. xiii-xiv, Liv. VIII, cap. xii, Liv. IX, caps. iv-v, Liv. X, caps. i-xvii). See also Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 196.

[4] See *infra*, pp. 232 *n.*, 235 *n.*

[5] He was chosen to command this expedition because, when himself captain of Columbo some five or six years previously, he had successfully stood a similar siege by the same "Rajú," whom he had driven off with great loss (see Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 197). Couto's Ninth Decade, containing details of this siege, is unhappily lost.

the command of Simão da Costa, arrived from Hormuz; and Pedro Teixeira, ever ready to take advantage of opportunities that offered themselves, succeeded in obtaining permission to accompany Manoel de Sousa to Ceylon. On 4th February, 1588, this fleet, consisting of two galleys, captained respectively by Manoel de Sousa Coutinho and D. Jeronymo de Azevedo,[1] and sixteen foists, with six hundred men, set sail from Goa, and rounding Cape Comorin coasted as far as Rámesvaram Island,[2] whence it crossed over, and, passing the island of Mannár, came to anchor off Karaittívu. Thence a message was dispatched to the captain of Columbo, asking him to send two officers with native troops to join Manoel de Sousa's forces, as it was intended to devastate the country between that place and Columbo. These two officers set off from Columbo with eighty Portuguese and the native lascarins, in a foist and nine doneys; and, after carrying out various punitive and aggressive operations on their own account, came to where the relieving fleet lay. Having been informed of what they had done, of the state of Colombo, and that the town of Chilaw was strongly garrisoned, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho weighed anchor, and came with his fleet before Chilaw. Here a large force under D. Jeronymo de Azevedo was disembarked, the enemy was routed, no quarter being given, and the town was sacked and burnt. Departing thence, the fleet reached Columbo on 18th February, decked with flags, and saluting the fort with salvos from its cannon and arquebuses. At this time also the ships of D. Paulo de Lima's fleet began to arrive, so that the citizens of Columbo were overjoyed at the sight of such an array of vessels. Manoel de Sousa and

[1] Afterwards (1594-1612) captain-general of Ceylon, where he committed frightful atrocities (cf. Hakluyt Soc. Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 143, *n.*) and Viceroy of India (1612-1617), from which position he was taken back a prisoner to Portugal, where he ended his days in prison.

[2] Couto calls it the *Ilha de Jogues* (Island of Jogis).

the other captains having landed, a council of war was held to decide what action should be taken against the enemy. Naturally, Manoel de Sousa, anxious to have the whole credit of the affair for himself, and knowing that D. Paulo de Lima might arrive at any moment, was urgent for an immediate attack, while D. Paulo's captains counselled delay. Meanwhile ambassadors arrived from Rája Sinha, asking for an armistice to allow him to observe a religious festival at his capital, Sítávaka.[1] At the same time, however, spies reported that this was only a blind, as "Rajú" was really preparing to retire. It was therefore agreed to make a general assault on the enemy that night (21st February), and this was carried into effect, the king's army being routed with great loss. On 22nd or 23rd February, D. Paulo de Lima arrived from Malacca; and after Rája Sinha's extensive and elaborate siege works had been destroyed, and an adequate force left for the defence of Columbo, the two fleets set sail for Goa at the beginning of March, 1588.

Of these stirring events Teixeira tells us nothing, and he makes only casual references in his *Kings of Persia* to matters connected with this journey.[2] But one incident in his return voyage he describes at some length. Couto tells us that "Manoel de Sousa, who came in a light fleet, arrived in Cochim, and left in that city D. Jeronymo de Azevedo in his galley, and two foists as well, to meet the ships from China and convoy them as far as Goa, whilst he went on, visiting the fortresses of Cananor and Canará." One of the fortresses of Kanara at which Manoel de Sousa called was "Barselor," and, landing here, Teixeira tells us something of what he saw (pp. 210-213 *infra*). At the end of March, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho reached Goa, where

[1] See *infra*, pp. 221 and 235.

[2] See *infra*, pp. 221, 233, 235, 237; also cf. pp. 177-179, 222.

he was received by the Viceroy and the whole city with many tokens of honour and general rejoicing. A few days later (early in April), D. Paulo de Lima arrived, and was accorded still greater honour—in fact, all that a Viceroy was entitled to, except the pallium.[1]

Probably as a result of the strain and anxiety he had experienced,[2] D. Duarte de Menezes shortly afterwards fell sick of a fever, and after only a few weeks' illness died on May 4th,[3] 1588. He was buried with great pomp in the church of the Reys Magos, his bones being subsequently transferred to the Convent of the Trinity at Santarem.[4] When the *vias*,[5] or letters of succession, were opened, it was found that Mathias de Albuquerque was nominated to the government of India; but, in his absence,[6] the office fell to Manoel de Sousa Coutinho,[7] who was recognised as Governor with the customary ceremonies.[8] All these events, however, Teixeira passes over with merely a casual reference (p. 210 *infra*).

After his return from Ceylon, our traveller seems to have spent the remainder of the year 1588 in Goa.[9] But it was

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[1] Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. x, cap. xviii (see also Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 197-198).

[2] Linschoten (vol. ii, p. 201) suggests another cause.

[3] Linschoten (*u. s.*) says that it was on the 15th; but Couto is more likely to be right.

[4] Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. IV, cap. xix. For an account of the sad fate of D. Paulo de Lima, see Theal's *Beginnings of South African History*, pp. 291-295.

[5] Regarding these, see the details given by Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 201-203; also Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 214.

[6] He had left for Portugal in January, 1587, in the same ship with Linschoten's master, the Archbishop of Goa (Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. VIII, cap. ix).

[7] Cf. *supra*, p. iii.

[8] See Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 203.

[9] Linschoten left Goa for Cochin in November, 1588, and sailed for Europe in January, 1589. In view of the loss of Couto's Eleventh Decade, covering the years 1588-1596, it is all the more to be regretted that Teixeira did not, like the young Netherlander, record the chief events of each year during his stay in India.

not long before he was off again with another naval expedition. Mír Alí Bey, the captain of the Turkish fleet that had given such a blow to Portuguese prestige on the east coast of Africa in 1586, had ever since been preparing for a second descent upon those parts; and, being urged thereto in letters from the Moors, he set sail from the Red Sea at the end of 1588 or beginning of 1589,[1] with a fleet of four galleys and the foist that he had captured from Roque de Brito two years before. He ran down the Somali coast as far as Magadosho, where he landed and was well received; and thence he continued his course southwards, getting money contributions at all the ports at which he called, until he came to Malindi, where he anchored late one night, intending next morning to bombard the town. The captain of the fort, Matheus Mendes de Vasconcellos, had, however, been forewarned of Mír Alí's coming; and, placing some guns on a sandhill commanding the galleys, he played upon them until they were forced to weigh anchor and sail for Mombasa, where Mír Alí proposed to erect forts, from which he could sally out and destroy Malindi on some future occasion.

Meanwhile, by a foist that Matheus Mendes had dispatched to Goa on the first news of the intended descent of Mír Alí, the Governor had been apprised of the threatened danger. Accordingly, after the departure of the homeward-bound ships for Cochin, Martim Affonso set about preparing a fleet to be sent to the East African coast. This fleet, the command of which he gave to his brother, Thomé de Sousa Coutinho,[2] and which consisted of two

[1] Fr. João dos Santos, whose account of these events appears to be the only one extant, gives the year as 1589; but the correctness of this seems doubtful.

[2] Not to be confused with Thomé de Sousa d'Arronches, a man of a brutal character (see *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 857-861), who has earned eternal infamy by his wanton destruction, in 1588, of the ancient and famous temple at Dondra, in the south of Ceylon (see Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. x, cap. xv).

galliasses, five galleys, six foremasted galliots,[1] six smaller vessels,[2] and a *manchua*[3] as tender, and carrying nine hundred men-at-arms, set sail from Goa on January 30th, 1589. Soon after getting out to sea, the ships encountered such severe weather that one of the galleys began to leak and had to return to Goa, while the other vessels had to jettison a good deal of their cargo ; finally, the two galliasses were lost sight of. The rest of the fleet, after many perils, sighted land on February 20th, and soon after reached Brava, where they learned of the arrival and doings of Mír Alí. Weighing anchor on February 23rd, the ships came to Ampaza, which had been rebuilt by the prince, who was promised security by Thomé de Sousa on condition of having nothing to do with the Turks. The next place of call was Lamo, where the fleet watered, and a message was received from Matheus Mendes announcing the withdrawal of Mír Alí to Mombasa, and begging Thomé de Sousa to make all speed lest the enemy should escape before his arrival. Upon this, the ships at once made sail, and on March 3rd arrived at Malindi, where they were heartily welcomed.

Having increased his fleet by two ships that lay there Thomé de Sousa left Malindi, accompanied by the king of that place, the king and prince of Pemba, and Matheus Mendes, and on Sunday, March 5th, arrived before Mombasa. At first some show of resistance was made by the Turks ; but this soon collapsed, and on March 7th the Portuguese entered the city, to find it abandoned, the enemy having taken to the woods. The place was thereupon sacked and burnt. It must be here mentioned that, before the arrival of Thomé de Sousa's fleet, Mombasa was

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[1] Orig., *galeotas de traquete.* Ordinary galliots had no foremast.
[2] Orig., *navios.* The compiler of the makeshift *Decada Undecima*, which is largely taken from Dos Santos's work, here substitutes *fustas* (foists).
[3] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*

already besieged from the land side by an immense force of cannibal blacks, called Zimbas, who, advancing from the south, had spread terror and devastation wherever they had come.[1] These savages now gaining an entrance to the island, a terrible slaughter began, many of the unhappy Turks being drowned in their attempts to escape. To the credit of Thomé de Sousa it must be said that he saved as many as he could by means of his boats, among them the leader, Mír Alí Bey. On the same day (March 15th) the two missing galliasses arrived at Mombasa.

After restoring the king of Pemba to his throne (from which he had been driven by his people), Thomé de Sousa left Mombasa, on March 22nd, with his fleet and the vessels captured from the Turks, and arrived two days later at Malindi. Here he left Matheus Mendes de Vasconcellos, and two of the vessels of the fleet and some soldiers, to protect the place from the Zimbas, who were expected to pay it a visit shortly.[2] Calling at Lamo, Thomé de Sousa carried the king of that place a prisoner to Pate, where he was formally beheaded for his betrayal of Roque de Brito and the other Portuguese in 1586; while other offenders also suffered the same fate. Having devastated the island of Mandra, and bound the prince of Ampaza and the kings of Pate and Sio by solemn treaty to be faithful to the crown of Portugal, Thomé de Sousa set sail on April 15th, called at Socotra on the 28th for

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[1] Regarding these people, see Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. I, Liv. II, caps. xvii-xxi (English translation in Theal's *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. xvii, pp. 290-304); and Theal's *Beginnings of South African History*, pp. 268-274. (Cf. also *Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, p. 150.)

[2] For a description of their attack on Malindi, and their utter destruction by the force of three thousand "Mosseguejos," who came to the help of the garrison, see Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. I, Liv. II, cap. xxi (English translation in Theal's *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. xvii, pp. 302-304). See also Theal's *Beginnings of South African History*, p. 268. For Teixeira's reference to this event, see *infra*, p. xv, *n.*, and p. 237.

water and provisions, and arrived on May 16th at Goa, where he was welcomed by his brother, the Governor, who also received Mír Alí with great cordiality.[1]

Now, although Teixeira does not, as in the case of the two previous expeditions, tell us even casually that he accompanied this one, I think it is absolutely certain that he did so (see his statements on pp. 6, 237, 238, and 223, *infra*,[2] and the references on pp. 198, 202, 204, 227). How or where he spent the remainder of 1589 we know not;[3] but during the next two years, 1590 and 1591, he seems, from his own statement (p. 205 *infra*), to have been resident in Cochin, which city, he tells us (p. 231 *infra*), was during those two years devastated by a terrible epidemic of the "Chinese Death," or Asiatic cholera.[4]

On May 15th, 1591, the new Viceroy of India, Mathias de Albuquerque, arrived at Goa in the *Bom Jesus*, which had left Lisbon in May, 1590, with four other ships, all of which had, however, returned to port shortly afterwards owing to unfavourable weather. Manoel de Sousa Coutinho

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[1] Details of this expedition are given by Fr. João dos Santos in his *Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. I, Liv. V, caps. vii-xii. These have been reproduced, with verbal alterations, in the makeshift *Decada Undecima*, caps. v-x. A faulty English translation, from the French version of Dos Santos, is printed in Pinkerton's *Collection*, vol. xvi, pp. 728-735.

[2] In the passage referred to on p. 237 Teixeira says: "And less evil is this than to devour human flesh, as . . . do the black Zinbas today, not sparing their own people, as was seen ten or twelve years ago, when seventy or eighty thousand of them went in a body through the interior of Africa in search of the lands of India, or of the Cloths [*Pannos*], as they said: and when any of them fell sick they killed and divided them amongst them and ate them: these came to an end before Malinde and Monbasa at the hands of the Portuguese." Regarding the "Mocegueios," whom Teixeira must have met at Malindi in 1589, see, in addition to the authorities referred to in the footnote on p. 237, Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. I, Liv. V, cap. xiii.

[3] Ralph Fitch, according to his own account, was in Cochin from March 22nd to November 2nd, 1589, when he left for Goa (see *infra*, p. xxvii).

[4] It is very possible that (if he was a physician, as I suspect) it was this outbreak that brought Teixeira to Cochin.

at once delivered over the sword of office to his successor, who placed at his disposal for his homeward voyage the ship he himself had come out in. In this vessel, the largest and most richly-laden that had ever sailed from India, Manoel de Sousa, with his wife and all his possessions, left for Portugal on January 10th, 1592; but, in attempting to make Mozambique, the ship was lost on the shoals of Garajao, and all on board perished.[1] How or where Teixeira spent the year 1592 he gives no hint; but it was probably somewhere on the west coast of India.[2]

Judging by casual references in his book, it appears probable that in or about the year 1593 our author left India for Hormuz,[3] where he seems to have resided until 1597 (see *infra*, pp. 241, 208, 209, 166). Whatever the object of his visit, he evidently devoted considerable time to the acquisition of the Persian language, to the study of the histories of Persia and Hormuz, and to the translation, in a summarised form, of the chronicles of Mír Khwánd and Iskán Sháh. Regarding this, Teixeira tells us something in the prefatory note to his book (see *infra*); and scattered throughout the latter are to be found references to occurrences of which he was eye-witness while in Hormuz, or which took place during his residence there (see *infra*, pp. 194, 201, 205, 210, 221, 234, 238).[4] He also, in his *Kings*

[1] The *S. Bartholomeu*, one of the same fleet, was lost at sea. The *Madre de Deus*, and the *Santa Cruz*, which left India at the same time, were attacked near the Azores by an English fleet under Sir John Borrough, who captured the former, while the latter was burnt by her captain.

[2] So far as can be gathered from his book, Teixeira never visited the Coromandel coast or Bengal.

[3] He may possibly have called at Diu on his way: a statement in the *Kings of Persia*, Bk. I, chap. xxii, is so worded as to leave it doubtful if Teixeira ever was in Diu.

[4] The captain of Hormuz, during most of the time that Teixeira was resident there, was Diogo Lopes Coutinho. The latter was succeeded by Antonio de Azevedo (regarding whose romantic marriage see Faucheran, vol. ii, p. 187); but he died soon afterwards, in 1597 (see Couto, *Dec. XII*, Liv. I, cap. viii). The loss of Couto's

of Hormuz, gives a brief description of the island as it appeared during his residence there (see *infra*, pp. 164-168, and cf. p. 252).

In 1597 our author paid a visit to the city of "Mazandaron" (Sari), in the north of Persia (see *infra*, p. 204), and in the same year he must have left Hormuz for India, since he himself informs us that in that year he sailed from Goa for Malacca (see *infra*, p. 226). We may reasonably conclude that Teixeira accompanied the fleet under the command of Lourenço de Brito, which left Goa on 24th September, 1597, for Malacca, in consequence of the tidings received in India of an intended attack by the Dutch on the Portuguese possessions in the Far East.[1] The becalming of the fleet in the Strait of Malacca gave Teixeira the opportunity of going ashore on Pulo Jarak, and adding to his store of information in the field of natural history.

Reaching Malacca, our author apparently remained there for the next two years and a half,[2] utilising his stay in acquiring knowledge regarding the fauna and flora of the Malayan Archipelago (see *infra*, pp. 198, 215, 222, 224, 225-226, 230, 232, 235-236.)

Thus far we have had to rely on casual and sometimes vague references for our information regarding Pedro Teixeira's wanderings, but now we come to solid ground. In the first chapter of his *Narrative of my Journey from*

Decada XI has deprived us of any detailed account of events in or near Hormuz at this period; but the royal letters in the *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, supply this want to a certain extent (see, for instance, pp. 415, 432, 446, 450, 458, 482, 505-506, 574, 586, 592, 678-679, 689, 704, 711, 786-791, 808, 813).

[1] See *infra*.

[2] The captain of Malacca during Teixeira's residence was Martim Affonso de Mello Coutinho (see *infra*, pp. 1, *n.*, and 225, *n.*, where "1599" should be "1598"). Some of the stirring events that took place in the Malayan Archipelago while Teixeira was in Malacca, but regarding which he is silent, will be found recorded further on.

India to Italy (see *infra*, p. i), he tells us, that being in Malacca, and wishing to return to Portugal, he resolved to do so by way of the Philippine Isles. He therefore took advantage of a pinnace that was being dispatched by the captain of Malacca to warn the Spanish Governor of the Philippines of the coming of the Dutch into that sea,[1] and accordingly left Malacca on 1st May, 1600.

As the succinct account that our author gives of his journey is translated below, I need here only mention the chief incidents. After calling at Brunei, in Borneo, Teixeira arrived on 22nd June at Manila. Here he obtained from the Governor, Dom Francisco Tello de Menezes, the necessary permit to proceed to New Spain, and on 18th July our traveller set sail in one of a fleet of four new ships bound for America. After a brief stay for provisioning at the Strait of San Bernardino, the ship's course was set in a north-easterly direction ; and, escaping a dreaded encounter with a Dutch fleet, but falling in with some Spanish ships that had been sent out by the Viceroy of Peru to look for the Hollanders, the ship with Teixeira on board reached Acapulco on 1st December. Having rested here a few days, our author set out[2] on horseback for the city of Mexico, where he arrived at midnight on Christmas Day. In this city Teixeira remained until 2nd May, 1601, on which day, just a year after he had sailed from Malacca, he resumed his journey towards his native land. Passing through La Puebla and other towns, our traveller came to San Juan de Ulua (Vera Cruz),

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[1] This must mean, that the Governor was to be informed of the departure from Holland of the fleets of Jacques Mahu and Olivier van Noort for the Straits of Magellan, with the object of reaching the Malayan Archipelago by way of the Philippines. How these ships fared is related below.

[2] With Teixeira's account of this land journey may be compared that of Dom Fernandez Navarrete, who travelled in the opposite direction in 1647 (see Churchill's *Collection*, vol. i, pp. 231-233).

whence he sailed in the fleet for Spain on 31st May. After being nearly wrecked in a storm off the coast of Cuba, Teixeira's ship put into the port of Havana, whence she again sailed on 15th July for Spain by Florida, Bermuda, and the Newfoundland banks; and after escaping from the unwelcome attentions of a corsair[1] off the coast of Algarve, the fleet cast anchor in San Lucar on 6th September. Two days later our traveller reached Seville, and finally, by a circuitous route, arrived at Lisbon on 8th October, 1601.

Before leaving Malacca, Teixeira had entrusted to friends there a considerable sum of money to be remitted to Portugal in the usual way by the homeward ships from India. When he reached Lisbon, however, he was disappointed to learn that the money had, for some reason, failed to arrive; and, therefore, after waiting in vain for nearly a year and a half,[2] our author, much against his inclination, made up his mind to set out for the East once more. Accordingly, on March 28th, 1603, he went aboard one of the fleet of five sail leaving for India under the command of Pero Furtado de Mendoça, and on October 14th arrived safely at Goa.

Presumably Teixeira here attained the object of his journey; for in less than four months he was once more homeward-bound. Weary of seafaring, and anxious to view fresh scenes, our traveller resolved to make a land journey to Europe by way of the Euphrates valley.[3] On

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[1] The fleet also managed to evade capture by the English ships, which were at this time scouring the seas in search of Spanish prizes (see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1601, *passim*).

[2] Dr. Kayserling (*op. cit.*) erroneously says: "After a residence of two years a half in Lisbon, he started on a second journey of scientific research [!] to India, Persia, and other countries."

[3] Regarding this route, see Linschoten, vol. i, pp. 48-51, vol. ii, p. 159.

February 9th, 1604, therefore, he left Goa, and on the 11th embarked on a Portuguese ship bound for the Persian Gulf. Sailing the same day, the ship took a straight course for the coast of Arabia, making landfall on March 2nd, near the Bay of Masírah; thence running northwards, she rounded Cape Ras-el-Had, and entered the Gulf of Omán. Here many vessels were sighted, and in a collision with one of these the arrogant folly of a ship's clerk nearly caused a terrible disaster. Escaping from this danger, the ship pursued her course, anchoring a couple of days at Sífa, taking in wood and water at Máskat, and at length reaching Hormuz on March 17th.

On April 14th Teixeira set sail for Basra, in a little ship belonging to the Portuguese captain of Hormuz, which, after passing through the strait between Kishm and the mainland, coasted north-westerly along the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, having frequently to cast anchor owing to the strong currents. Off the island of Lár (Shaikh Shuwaib) the ship suffered somewhat from bad weather, and proved a friend in need to a native vessel that had been attacked by "Nihhelus." After sailing along this rugged coast for thirty-five days, provisions began to fail, and on reaching Shilu the head-wind increased to such an extent that the captain of the ship gave orders to set the course for Hormuz, at which place our traveller found himself back again on May 21st.

Disappointed but not daunted by his ill-success, Teixeira once more embarked in the same ship, which, having refitted and revictualled, sailed from Hormuz on June 17th, this time keeping south of Kishm island. This voyage proved more fortunate, and, after apparently an uninterrupted run along the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, the ship anchored on July 25th at the island of Kharag, where it lay wind-bound for four days. Leaving this

place the ship took a westerly course, and, after being nearly stranded in a shallow channel by the Moorish pilot who had been taken on board at Kharag, at length cast anchor on August 1st in the Shát-el-Arab, and on the 6th reached the terminus of her voyage at "Serràge," where ships of burden were wont to discharge their cargoes for Basra. To this town our traveller proceeded the same day by boat along a canal.

Of Basra, as he saw it, Teixeira gives a graphic and interesting description. In this town he lodged in the house of a Venetian merchant,[1] in whose company and that of two Portuguese gentlemen our traveller had come from Hormuz, all having apparently arranged to journey to Europe together. But finding that the river would be unnavigable for some months, Teixeira, learning that a *kafila* was fitted out to make the land journey through the Arabian desert, resolved to join it. Accordingly, on September 2nd, he and Diego de Melo, one of the aforesaid Portuguese gentlemen (who had, at the last moment, begged permission to accompany our traveller), bade farewell to their friends in Basra, and proceeded to the plain outside the town, whence the *kafila* was to start.[2]

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[1] Regarding this man, Santo Fonte, Father Antonio Gouvea, in his *Relaçam*, etc., Liv. I, cap. vii, relates an incident, showing how severely Sháh Abbás punished the King of Lár and his accomplices for the murder and robbery of a factor of this Venetian merchant's.

[2] It was not customary, I believe, for Europeans to travel by this desert route. Antonio Tenreiro was the first Portuguese to undertake the journey in 1523, and again in 1528; and Couto (*Dec. IV*, Liv. V, cap. vii) describes the sensation caused in Portugal by the narrative of his adventures (which was not printed, however, before 1560, at Coimbra). Some forty years later (in 1565 apparently), a certain Antonio Teixeira made the journey from Basra to Bagdad, and thence to the Mediterranean and Galata (Couto, *Dec. VIII*, cap. v). Fr. Gaspar de São Bernardino, who made the land journey from Basra to Aleppo a few years after Teixeira, took a somewhat different route. On the subject of these land journeys see the interesting account in Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India* pp. 53-57.

After a somewhat trying journey, in which Diego de Melo proved a troublesome companion, the *kafila* arrived at Mashad 'Alí on September 18th; and, having rested four days, set out again on the 23rd. On the 25th the caravan reached Mashad Husain (Karbala), where the captain of the *kafila* got married, and invited our traveller to the wedding. On the 29th most of the merchants in the *kafila* set off for Bagdad in charge of certain officials, who had been sent thence for that purpose; but Teixeira, Diego de Melo, and a few others remained behind for lack of camels. This want being at last supplied, our traveller and his companions left Mashad Husain on October 2nd; on the 3rd they crossed the Euphrates; and on the 4th they entered Bagdad.

At Bagdad, Teixeira was welcomed by a young Hamburger whom he had known in India, and who did all he could to repay some service our traveller had done him on a former occasion. Of the city of Bagdad we are given a very detailed description. In consequence of the siege of Aleppo and other disturbances, Teixeira had perforce to remain a couple of months here; but on December 12th he once more set forth on his journey, accompanied by the young German, Diego Fernandes, and Diego de Melo, and crossing the Euphrates on the 24th entered the town of Ana.

At this place, which as usual he describes graphically, Teixeira and his companions were detained, much to their annoyance, until January 13th, 1605, when they set out for Aleppo, travelling, as they had done from Bagdad, in camel panniers. At the village of Sukana, which they reached on January 31st, and where they stayed five days, Diego de Melo once more nearly brought trouble upon himself and his companions by his hot-headedness. On February 9th the caravan was attacked by robbers; but Teixeira and his friends escaped scatheless. At length, on

February 12th, at sunset, our traveller and his companions reached Aleppo in safety.

To a description of Aleppo, its inhabitants, trade and commerce, foreign merchants, &c., our author devotes a whole chapter full of interesting details. After a stay of two months in this town, learning that a ship was about to sail from Scanderoon (Alexandretta) for Venice, Teixeira took his departure from Aleppo on April 5th, accompanied by two Venetian gentlemen and by Diego de Melo, who once more proved a source of trouble to the company. On Good Friday, April 8th, 1605, the party reached Alexandretta, and on the 12th they went aboard a Venetian ship bound for Venice, in which city our author had, he says, some special business to transact. After calling at Salinas (near Larnaca) in Cyprus for cargo, the ships fell in with some Maltese galleys, to one of which Diego de Melo, in a characteristic fit of ill-humour, transferred himself, much to the relief, doubtless, of our long-suffering author. Another call for cargo was made at the island of Zante, where eight days were spent; and after a tedious voyage, owing to contrary winds, the ship arrived on July 9th at "Istria." Here Teixeira and his companions went ashore, and next day sailed in a bark for Venice, where they arrived, after a stormy voyage, on July 11th, 1605.

Of his doings in Venice, where he "rested a while," Teixeira tells us nothing, and, though he "saw somewhat of the many wonders of that city," his only comment thereon is to agree with a certain wise man, who, he remarks, had "wisely said," that it was "an impossible work in an impossible place." Having visited "no small part of Italy," our author came to Piedmont, crossed the Alps and saw Savoy; traversed France, and came to the (then) Spanish Netherlands, where he settled down in the famous city of Antwerp. What length of time was occupied in

these European wanderings, and when he came to Antwerp, Teixeira does not inform us, and we have no means (at present) of ascertaining. Dr. Kayserling, in the work already quoted, says:—"It was at Antwerp, the oldest Dutch settlement of the Spanish-Portuguese exiles, that Pedro took up his abode after the termination of his journey. There he published his valuable work on the origin and order of succession of the kings of Persia and Hormez [*sic*]; there he wrote his *Travels from India to Italy*; and there, not at Verona,[1] most probably towards the middle of the seventeenth century, he died in the Jewish faith, and was gathered to his fathers in a better world." For the statements in the latter part of this extract Dr. Kayserling gives no proofs, and I am unable to confirm or to contradict them.[2]

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[1] In a footnote Dr. Kayserling states that Daniel Levi de Barrios, Wolff, Zunz, and Steinschneider all mention Verona as the place of Pedro Teixeira's death; but he thinks that more credence is to be given to Barbosa Machado, who, in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Lisbon, 1747), tom. iii, p. 622, says of Teixeira: "Vizitou Veneza, donde por terra veyo a Anveres e nesta cidade fez o seu domicilio até a morte." In his *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica* (1890), however, Dr. Kayserling leaves the place of Teixeira's death a moot point.

[2] Dr. Kayserling, to whom I wrote, was unable to add any information to that given above; nor has Dr. M. Gaster, who kindly made inquiries for me, succeeded in eliciting any further details regarding Teixeira.

II.

THE FIRST COMING OF THE ENGLISH AND THE DUTCH TO THE EAST.[1]

THE period covered by the travels of Pedro Teixeira (1586-1605) was a critical one in the history of the Portuguese in the East. In 1580 Philip II of Spain had been proclaimed King of Portugal, and this country had entered upon the "sixty years' captivity" that proved one of the prime factors in the loss of nearly the whole of its Eastern possessions. In that same year, also, Drake had returned to England from his famous voyage round the world,[2] which gave rise to a "diplomatic wrangle" that eventuated in a rupture of relations and a bitter maritime war between England and Spain.

Shortly before Drake's return, John Newbery[3] had sailed (on September 19th, 1580) for Tripoli, in Syria, whence he journeyed by way of the Euphrates Valley and the Persian Gulf to Hormuz, returning thence through Persia, Armenia, etc., to Constantinople, and then across Europe, reaching London in August, 1582.[4] Within six

[1] The subject of the early English and Dutch voyages to the East has been ably dealt with by Sir George Birdwood, in his *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (second reprint, 1891), pp. 183-199; and Sir W. W. Hunter, in his *History of British India*, vol. i, chaps. v-vii. My object here has been to bring together in a connected form various particulars relating to some of these voyages, mostly from Portuguese sources, that have been hitherto overlooked by English writers on the subject. They will enable the reader, I think, to gain a fairly accurate idea of how the position appeared from a Portuguese standpoint.

[2] See *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, edited for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. W. S. W. Vaux.

[3] Regarding this man, see J. Horton Ryley's *Ralph Fitch*, pp. 202-211.

[4] Details of this journey are given in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. ii.

months of his return Newbery once more sailed for Tripoli, on this occasion accompanied by Ralph Fitch, William Leedes, and James Story.[1] These four Englishmen, following the same route as that taken by Newbery on his former journey, reached Hormuz on September 5th, 1583, and were at once arrested and imprisoned by the captain of Hormuz,[2] on suspicion of being emissaries of Dom Antonio, the pretender to the throne of Portugal.[3] In October they were shipped to Goa, arriving there on the 20th of November, and being again incarcerated. However, through the good offices of the English Jesuit, Father Thomas Stevens,[4] Fitch and his companions were soon released on bail, and settled to trade or other occupations in Goa. Being still, however, treated with suspicion by the authorities, on April 5th, 1585, Fitch, Newbery and Leedes made their escape from Portuguese territory, and succeeded in reaching the court of the "Great Mogul," Akbar,[5] at Fatehpur Sikri. Here Leedes remained in Akbar's service; but on September 28th, 1585, Newbery left for Lahore, intending to return by Persia to Aleppo or Constantinople;[6] while Fitch set out in a fleet of boats

[1] Fitch's narrative of this journey was first printed by Hakluyt (*Principall Navigations*, vol. ii, Pt. 1), and was reprinted by Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, vol. ii). It has recently been reproduced, with a wealth of illustrative matter, by Mr. J. Horton Ryley, a member of this Society, under the title of *Ralph Fitch: England's Pioneer to India and Burma* (London, 1899).

[2] Mathias de Albuquerque (see *infra*). By a strange error, Linschoten says that the captain of Hormuz was then "Don Gonsalo de Meneses" (Hakluyt Soc. ed. of Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 160; and cf. pp. 187, 202). Mathias de Albuquerque took over the office from D. Gonçalo de Menezes in January, 1583 (see Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. III, cap. ix, and Liv. VI, cap. x).

[3] Regarding whom see Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. i, pp. 211-212, and footnote.

[4] Respecting this man see *Dictionary of Natural Biography*, *s. v.*, and *Ralph Fitch*, pp. 211-213.

[5] In Hakluyt he is everywhere called "Zelabdim Echebar," the former name being apparently a misprint for "Zelaledim" = Jalálúddín.

[6] Leedes appears to have died in India; while a mystery hangs over the fate of Newbery (see *Ralph Fitch*, pp. 77, 100, 205).

down the Jumna and Ganges to Bengal, whence he sailed to Chittagong, and then on to Pegu, where he made a stay of a year. Leaving Pegu on January 10th, 1588,[1] Fitch reached Malacca on February 8th. This was the terminus of his travels, and his stay in Malacca was very brief. Setting sail again on March 29th, 1588, Fitch returned by Pegu to Bengal, whence he took ship to Cochin, reaching that port on March 22nd, 1589, and staying there until November 2nd, when he left for Goa. At Goa his stay was, for good reasons, a very short one, and he had soon sailed for Chaul, Hormuz and Basra, whence he returned by the usual route to Aleppo, and so back to England, arriving there on April 29th, 1591.

I have given the above summary of Ralph Fitch's travels for two reasons. The first is: that the latter portion of those travels synchronises with the earlier parts of Teixeira's voyages and wanderings in the East. In fact, Fitch and Teixeira were probably at Goa at the same time, in 1589. Neither, however, mentions the other.

Another reason I have for referring specially to Fitch's travels is to emphasise the audacity displayed by him in visiting such Portuguese settlements as Malacca and Cochin (where he stayed over seven months), and returning to Goa and Hormuz (where he had to wait fifty days for a passage to Basra), after having escaped from Goa while still a suspect. That he ran considerable risks, the following extracts from Portuguese official documents show. On February 25th, 1585, the King of Spain wrote[2]

[1] Fitch does not mention the year of his departure from Pegu and his arrival at Malacca; but it must have been 1588, since, as we have seen above (p. vii), during a great part of 1587 Malacca was enduring the horrors of famine. Probably Fitch prolonged his stay in Pegu until he learnt of the relief of Malacca and the destruction of Johor.

[2] I translate what follows from a copy (the only one extant?) of a royal letter contained in British Museum *Addit. MS.* 20,861 (tomo 1 of *Collecçam de Ordens da India*, No. 5). This letter does not appear in the *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental.*

from Lisbon to the Viceroy of India (D. Duarte de Menezes) :—

And the said Viceroy[1] also wrote to me, that Mathias de Albuquerque,[2] captain of the fortress of Ormuz,[3] had sent him four Englishmen,[4] who had arrived at that fortress by way of Baçora ; and that it was presumed that they carried some letters from Dom Antonio, Prior of Crato, although none were found on them,[5] and they came in the garb of merchants and with goods : who had been imprisoned pending such confirmation as he should think right to advise me of. Wherefore I enjoin on you, that if these Englishmen are still prisoners, and you have not punished them, you do so according to the offences of which they shall have been found guilty, of which you shall order a private inquiry to be made; and you shall take great heed that neither these people nor other similar ones be allowed in those parts, the which you shall order to be specially guarded against at the fortress of Ormuz, which is the gateway by which they are chiefly likely to enter. And of what you shall do in this matter you shall advise me.

As I have mentioned, a few weeks after the above was written, and just two months after the arrival at Goa of the Viceroy to whom the letter was addressed, three of the four Englishmen had escaped from Portuguese jurisdiction. What King Philip thought of this occurrence is shown by the following extract[6] from a letter written by him to the Viceroy from Lisbon on February 13th, 1587 :—

I am displeased at the escape of the four Englishmen whom you wrote me that Mathias Dalbuquerque sent as prisoners from Ormuz to that city of Goa in the time of the Count Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, and that they have gone to different parts, and that you had information that two of them were dead, and the other two living.[7] And since it is necessary to learn the

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[1] D. Francisco Mascarenhas (see *Ralph Fitch*, pp. 56, 85).

[2] Afterwards (1591-1597) Viceroy of India (see *supra*, p. xv).

[3] From 1583 to 1586.

[4] Linschoten gives a curious (and certainly erroneous) reason for their being sent to the Viceroy (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 160).

[5] Cf. *Ralph Fitch*, pp. 62, 75, 77.

[6] I translate from *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, p. 95.

[7] One of those known to be living was, of course, Story, who had settled in Goa as a painter (see *infra*, p. xxix), and the other was

cause of their going to those parts, I enjoin upon you to endeavour to lay hold of them, and that they be kept well guarded; and that you order an examination of the persons incriminated in their escape, and take proceedings against them; and of what you shall do in this matter you shall inform me.

Two years later, on February 2nd, 1589, the King writes[1] thus to the Viceroy:—

And regarding what you write me of the advice that you have had respecting Dom Antonio, the former Prior of Crato, I have ordered a private letter[2] to be written to you on this matter.

You also tell me that, by way of Dyo and other parts, you have sent to spy the strait of Meca in order that before the winter sets in you may learn if any galleys set out and what they do, which was prudent, and so will it be of you to manage by all ways to be ever advised of the affairs of this strait. And regarding the four Englishmen who in the time of the Count Dom Francisco Mascarenhas went to India, of whom you gave me an account that they were merchants, and went out to those parts solely with that intention, and that three of them are dead,[3] and that the one that remained was a painter and was married there,[4] nevertheless in addition to this information that you give me I again enjoin upon you that you make further efforts to find out the intent of their going, and of those inculpated in the escape of the three, as I ordered to be written to you by the fleet of the past year,[5] in which you will already have taken proceedings.

The last reference to this matter of Fitch and his com-

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possibly Leedes, who had taken service under Akbar (see *supra*). The information regarding Newbery's death may have been correct, but with respect to Fitch it was happily false. (Cf. the incorrect statements regarding the four in Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 232.)

[1] I translate from *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, p. 175.

[2] The letter referred to, dated January 24th, 1589, and nearly all in cypher, is printed in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 166-167. It appears from it that a report had reached the Viceroy that Dom Antonio had left England intending to go by Venice to Constantinople; whereupon the Viceroy had secretly sent a Venetian named Miser Antonio to Bagdad and Aleppo to find out the truth. This action the King commends, but warns him to be chary of receiving news through Venetians, as it is understood that as regards Turkish affairs they never report them correctly.

[3] Possibly Leedes may have died meanwhile.

[4] To a *mestiça*, according to Linschoten (vol. ii, p. 166).

[5] I have found no letter of 1589 referring to this matter.

panions is in a royal letter dated January 12th, 1591, in which the King writes[1] to the Viceroy as follows :—

> And he[2] also writes to me that of the three Englishmen who went out to those parts in the time of the Count Dom Francisco Mascarenhas two of them were dead,[3] and the other was in Goa practising the profession of a painter, without there being any suspicion of any other design in him ; and nevertheless since it is forbidden that any strangers go to those parts, nor are they allowed there,[4] I do not consider it to my service that he remain, being an Englishman, and you shall send him free in the first ship to this kingdom that he may go hence to his own country if he desire.[5]

In view of the above royal instructions, it certainly seems strange that in 1588 Fitch should have spent seven weeks in Malacca unmolested, and that in 1589 he should have stayed between seven and eight months at Cochin, and then gone to Goa and Hormuz ; at either of which places, one would think, he would certainly have been re-arrested. But his motto seems to have been "De l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace."

Two months after the departure from England of Ralph Fitch and his companions, namely, on April 8th, 1583, there sailed from Lisbon for India a man whose name will for ever be famous—the young Dutchman, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten. As the old English translation of his epoch-making *Itinerario* has been so admirably edited for our Society by Dr. Burnell and Mr. Tiele, I need here only

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[1] I translate from *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, p. 277.

[2] The Governor, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho.

[3] I do no know who is responsible for this reduction in the numbers.

[4] Cf. Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 166.

[5] Whether or not this order was carried out I have not been able to discover. If it was obeyed, poor Story probably perished in one of the two ships that was lost on the homeward voyage in 1592 (see *supra*, p. xvi). Had he been on board the *Madre de Deos*, which was captured by Sir John Burrough, there would doubtless have been a record of the fact by Hakluyt or some other writer.

say that it seems evident that Teixeira had read the work (doubtless the Latin translation of 1599) before writing his own book.[1] I would also point out, that though in 1588 Teixeira and Linschoten must have been in Goa at the same time, neither makes the slightest allusion to the other by name. Had Linschoten not written his comprehensive work on the East, it is possible that we might have had a somewhat similar one from the pen of Teixeira.

Though Linschoten sailed for Europe from Cochin a couple of months before Fitch arrived there from Bengal, he did not reach Lisbon until January 2nd, 1592, nearly three years after his departure from India;[2] while Fitch, on the other hand, arrived in London on April 29th, 1591. Less than three weeks before this there had sailed from London for the East[3] three ships under the command of Captain Raymond, only one of which, the *Edward Bonaventure*, Captain James Lancaster, was destined to complete the voyage. The history of this expedition is given in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, edited for our Society by Sir Clements Markham. It was perhaps the report of the approaching departure of these vessels that led to the writing of a letter to the Viceroy of India by the King of Spain on March 26th, 1591, in which he says[4]:—"I had advice a few days ago that in England were being got ready some vessels with the object of going to the island of Santa Ylena to wait for the ships that come from those parts to this kingdom." The writer therefore

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[1] See the references to Linschoten's work in the footnotes to the *Kings of Persia, infra.*

[2] He spent two years in the island of Terceira.

[3] Before this (in 1586-88) Thomas Cavendish had followed the example of Drake, and circumnavigated the world by way of Magellan Straits and the Eastern Archipelago (see the narrative of the voyage in Hakluyt, *Prin. Nav.*, 1589, and the curious report of an English expedition to the East in 1588 recorded by Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 302).

[4] *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, p. 317.

advises that the homeward-bound ships should carry as much water as possible so as to obviate calling at St. Helena, and orders that if they were obliged to call at some port it should be at Angola ;[1] while the captains were to be instructed to rendezvous at Corvo, in the Azores, where a fleet would be waiting to escort them to Lisbon.

The only Portuguese documents that I have found, however, undoubtedly referring to Lancaster's voyage are the two following. The first is a royal letter, written more than two years later, and, in fact, just at the time that Lancaster's troubles were coming to a culmination off the coast of North America. The letter[2] runs :—

Friend Viceroy. I, the King, send you all greeting. Luis Fernandes Duarte,[3] who is at the court of the King Xariffe, wrote to me that in Marrocos was an English merchant[4] of credit in those parts who spoke of the affairs of that State like one who has some experience thereof although he has not been there, and that to the effect that in Samatra and Pegú, which are places remote from that State and in which I have no fortresses, are to be established factories, and that commerce is to be carried on with the inhabitants thereof; and that for this purpose he is endeavouring to obtain authentic instruments from the said Xariffe, to the effect that the English are capital enemies of the Spaniards and great friends of the Moors, and that wherever they find them they treat them like companions, and that any Moors they find captives they ransom and convey to the ports of Berberia and give them their liberty: in order with these credentials to go to England and put into execution this voyage which he designs to make beyond the Cape of Good Hope and not to Moçambique; for which purpose he has made a ruttier of which

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[1] A similar letter of March 15th, 1593 (in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 389-390), orders the ships to call at the watering-place of Saldanha (*i.e.*, Table Bay).

[2] Printed in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 400-401.

[3] This may possibly be the same man as the unnamed "Spaniard who has been living in Morocco for many years, not as a foreigner, but as a well-known subject of the King," the capture of whose richly-laden vessel by English ships is reported in a letter of March 20th, 1603, from the Venetian Secretary in England to the Doge and Senate (*Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. ix, 1592-1603, p. 555).

[4] I cannot identify this man.

the said Luis Fernandes sent me a copy.[1] And because this matter is of the importance that you have been advised of, although in what this Englishman intends there are many difficulties in the way of his being able to carry it into effect, yet it is to be believed that in so far as is possible the English will attempt everything from which they will gain some profit even though it be in remote parts, because of their lack of commerce there, I thought that I ought at once to advise you by land,[2] as also I commanded to be done by the fleet of the coming year, in order that you may observe great vigilance in this particular, taking all necessary precautions in the places mentioned and in any others that you consider needful, and providing in every way so that by no means may these English set foot on land;[3] keeping the kings of those parts in the friendship that they have with that State, and in the case of those that have it not you shall arrange that this good office shall be performed towards them by the nearest king who is friendly to that State.

. . Written in Lisbon the 6th of August, 1593.

It is also proper that you should know that through the same Englishman it was understood, that it may be a little over two years ago there left England for those parts Captain Timbertoe,[4] regarding whom they had advice by land of his having arrived there, and that he had captured two galleons.[5] You will therefore well see how important it is to intervene; and you shall advise me of everything.

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[1] This ruttier may possibly be still in existence among the archives at Madrid.

[2] According to a note in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, p. 400, "On the margin of the paper is this statement in contemporary writing: 'Copy of what was written in cypher by land.'" Whether the original reached India does not appear.

[3] Cf. the statement in a letter from Seville, quoted by Hunter, *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 234.

[4] Orig., "o capitaõ Pé de páo." This seems to have been a nickname acquired by Lancaster during his service as a soldier in Portugal; but the reason for it is not evident.

[5] The Venetian Ambassador in Spain, writing to the Doge and Senate from Madrid on August 30th, 1593, says:—"News has come from Lisbon that two ships of the East India fleet have arrived, and that they only saved themselves from the attack of four English corsairs with the greatest difficulty. These English ships followed them up for a long while. They report that in the China seas an Englishman seized a ship with a cargo worth upwards of a million; and that as there is no word of the two ships of last year it is thought certain that they are either sunk or captured by the English" (*Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. ix, 1592-1603). See also *infra*, p. lxi.

The other reference to Lancaster's voyage occurs in a royal letter to the Viceroy of India, written in Lisbon on March 1st, 1594, one paragraph[1] of which runs as follows:—

> And with respect to what you tell me, that an English ship put into Titangone, six leagues from Moçambique,[2] and that Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, who was stationed as captain of that fortress,[3] prevented her taking in water,[4] as she was doing, I consider myself well served by the manner in which he proceeded therein, and also by the order that you gave with a view to allay the excitement that might inconsiderately be created in that State by the news set about by that ship, of many others coming thither; and since these corsairs have begun to go to those parts, it is very important that by every means you shall think of you shall cause great vigilance to be observed in this matter, in order to succeed in every way that is possible to you in capturing those that shall put into the ports of that State, or to defeat them in such a manner that not only will they not be able to proceed with their designs, but that they will greatly regret having entertained them, and will not dare to take them up again; as I feel confident that you will do.

Lancaster's voyage resulted so disastrously as to give pause to English designs on the East;[5] but another rival nation was now to appear on the scene.[6] On April 2nd, 1595, a fleet of four Dutch vessels,[7] under the command of

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[1] *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 430-431.

[2] See *infra*, p. xlvii.

[3] I cannot find the date of his taking up this post, but it was probably in 1590. From a royal letter of March 1st, 1594, in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii (p. 421), it seems that while occupying this position D. Jeronymo killed his wife for adultery (and her paramour also, judging by a later letter), for which crime he was tried and acquitted; and in 1592 he appears to have returned to India and been appointed captain-major of the Malabar coast.

[4] This was not the fact (see *infra*, p. xlviii).

[5] See, however, Hunter, *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 234.

[6] For details of the early Dutch voyages, see Prince Roland Bonaparte's *Les Premiers Voyages des Néerlandais dans l'Insulinde (1595-1602)*, and especially J. K. J. de Jonge's *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie (1595-1610)*. Other works dealing with these voyages are cited below.

[7] They were the three ships *Mauritius*, *Hollandia* and *Amsterdam*, and the pinnace *Duifken*.

Cornelis de Houtman, sailed out of the Texel for the Eastern Archipelago, carrying with them, for their guidance, copies of Linschoten's Sailing Directory, which was published in Amsterdam the same year.[1] Of this expedition,[2] which resulted in little but disaster[3] and disappointment,[4] I find no mention in the Portuguese records until the beginning of 1598[5] (although the surviving ships of the fleet had returned in August, 1597). The first reference occurs in a royal letter[6] to the Viceroy of India, written from Lisbon on January 13th, 1598, in which the King says :—

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[1] See Tiele's Introduction to Hakluyt Soc. ed. of Linschoten, p. xxxvi.

[2] The first Dutch account of which appeared at Middelburg in 1597 (see Tiele's *Mémoire Bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais*, pp. 116-136). An English translation by W. Phillip was printed in London by John Wolfe in 1598 under the title *The Description of a Voyage made by certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies.* See also J. K. J. de Jonge, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-203, and 285-374; Prince Roland Bonaparte's *Les Premiers Voyages*, etc., p. 6 *et seq.*

[3] The small quantity of spices brought back was insufficient to pay the cost of the expedition. On January 1st, 1597, the *Amsterdam* was burnt, owing to its leaky condition and the lack of men, dead of disease or killed by the natives. When the other three vessels set sail homewards on February 26th, 1597, they carried, instead of the two hundred and forty-nine Hollanders that had left with the fleet, but eighty-nine, besides two Malabars, two Malagasy, a Chinese, a Malay, and a Gujarati.

[4] Sir Wm. Hunter, in his *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 230, says :—"Houtman returned in 1597, having lost two-thirds of his crews, done little in actual trade, but bringing back a treaty with the King of Bantam, which opened up the Indian Archipelago with Holland." Apparently Hunter has here been misled by the authorities he refers to. The king of Bantam had recently been killed, and his successor was an infant. It was the governor and council at Bantam that made the agreement with the Dutch (see de Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 197-198, 372-374; *The Description of a Voyage*, etc., pp. 15 and 16).

[5] Except the casual reference by the Goa Chamber in their letter of December 1597, quoted from below (p. xlvi).

[6] The only extant copy of which appears to be that forming No. 45 in tom. i of the *Collecçam de Ordens da India* (British Museum *Addit. MS.* 20,861).

From various letters written to me from that State,[1] I learnt that the ambassadors sent by the Dachem[2] to the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque, regarding terms of peace and other matters, departed from him ill content, it being only a short time previously that this king released the Bishop of China, whom he had in his power, and the rest of the Portuguese who were wrecked in the ship in which he was going, with great demonstration of desiring the friendship of that State. But I am not inclined to believe in this matter except what I shall learn from the letters of Mathias de Albuquerque and from yours; and therefore I enjoin upon you to write particularly regarding this.[3]

I have advised you by land by letters that went by different ways after the arrival here of the four ships[4] of the past year

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[1] *Estado, i.e.*, India; just as Portugal was referred to by writers from India as "that kingdom" (*aquelle reino*).

[2] That is, the king of Achin. (On the form "Dachem," see *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* "Acheen.")

[3] Couto doubtless recorded these events in his lost *Onzena Decada*; but in the makeshift *Decada Undecima* there is no mention of them. The earliest reference to the subject that I have found is in the annual letter of the Goa Chamber to the King, written December 19th, 1596 (printed in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. i, Pt. II), in which they say that their predecessors had informed the King of the matter in the foregoing year (which appears to be incorrect). In his reply of February 13th, 1597 (printed in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. i, Pt. I), the King just mentions the topic, with which he deals more fully in a letter to the Count Viceroy, dated February 5th, 1597 (printed in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii). From these letters it seems that the captain-major of the wrecked ship was D. Francisco d'Eça, whose brother, for some unexplained reason, was kept a prisoner by the king of Achin when he released the other Portuguese. The Goa Chamber express their agreeable surprise at the action of the Achinese chief, after the past experience of the Portuguese with him and his predecessors, and their regret at the bad treatment of his ambassadors; and they complain that the Viceroy would accede to neither of their requests, viz., either to send a present to conciliate the king of Achin, or to dispatch a fleet to protect Malacca in case he should attack it in revenge for the insult to his ambassadors. From the King's letter we gather that Mathias de Albuquerque was averse to making formal terms of peace with the Achinese, lest they should come in such numbers to Malacca as to prove a menace to that place; also, that the treatment of the ambassadors had been better than reported.

[4] The four ships were the *São Simão*, the *São Francisco*, the *São Phelippe*, and the *N. S. de Vencimento*, all of which arrived at Lisbon on August 27th, 1597. None of the letters said by the King to have been sent overland to India after the arrival of these ships are extant; but the Venetian ambassador in Spain wrote from Madrid to the Doge and Senate on October 20th, 1597:—"Some days ago an Armenian was despatched from here to Ormuz, *viâ* Venice and Alexandria. He bore letters to the Viceroy, calling his attention to the progress of

regarding various matters of my service, and especially how that the Hollanders who came from those parts that same year encountered at Santa Elena the said ships[1] with some pepper and drugs, which it is understood that they loaded in ports of the island of Samatra and of Jaoa. And because I now have advice that this year are being got ready many ships of the said Hollanders for the purpose of again making that journey,[2] as I have commanded to be written to you more particularly by these *vias*[3] (and I have also commanded it to be done by land); and it may happen that this king of Dachem, disgusted at the bad

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English commerce in those parts, and charging him to hinder it by all the means in his power. These orders are thought to be difficult to execute: for the English will not readily abandon that trade. Three of their ships a few months ago made a great profit in spices; with the result that in Lisbon the price of drugs has gone down. I also hear that the King of Denmark and the Free Cities have been invited to interrupt English and Dutch trade" (*Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. ix, 1592-1603, pp. 291-292). The Armenian referred to above is doubtless the one mentioned by Couto as having been dispatched by the captain of Hormuz in 1596 (see note *infra*, p. xl).

[1] This was on May 24th-25th, 1597 (see letter of March 10th, 1598, *infra*; F. van der Does, in De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 369-371). In *The Description of a Voyage*, etc., we read (p. 37):—"The 24. of May in the morning wee discouered a *Portingall* ship, that stayed for vs, and put out a flagge of truce, and because our flagge of truce was not so readie as theirs, and we hauing the wind of him, therefore he shot two shootes at vs, and put forth a flagge out of his maine top, and we shot 5. or 6. times at him, and so held on our course without speaking to him, hauing a South easte winde, holding our course West and by South to find the Island of *S. Helena*, which the *Portingall* likewise sought. The 25. of May we discouered the Island of *S. Helena*, but we could not see the *Portingal* ship, still sayling with a stiffe Southeast wind, & about euening we were vnder the Island, which is very high lande, and may be seene at the least *14.* or *15.* miles off, and as we sayled about the North point, there lay three other great *Portingal* ships, we being not aboue half a mile from them, wherevpon we helde in the weather and to seawarde Northeast as much as we might. The *Portingalles* perceyuing vs, the Admiral of their fleet shot off a pece to call their men that were on land to come a borde, and then wee saw foure of their shippes together, that were worth a great summe of money, at the least 300. tunnes of gold, for they were all laden with spices, precious stones, and other rich wares, and therefore wee durst not anker vnder the Island, but lay all night Northeastwarde, staying for our company." (The next day this ship, the *Hollandia*, met her two companions, after a month's separation, and the three sailed homewards, having plenty of fresh water on board.)

[2] Regarding these ships, see further on.

[3] The word *via* (meaning way, road, route) was used in a special sense in connection with the royal dispatches to India (see also *supra*, p. xi).

treatment of his ambassadors (if it be as was written to me, which I cannot believe), will grasp at[1] the friendship of these Hollanders,[2] I enjoin upon you, and command, that you arrange to have in the Sea of Malaca a fleet such as there used to be, reinforcing it according to the present greater need, in order to prevent them from going to those ports,[3] and to give them the chastisement that they deserve, whereby they will not be so impudent as to return again; and even if the many inconveniences that will arise from their acting thus be prevented, there cannot fail to be damage and discredit to that State. And for all these reasons and others, I again enjoin on you that you set greater store on the friendship of the Dachem, and with services, as necessity in every way requires.

In another letter, dated January 26th, 1598, the King again refers to the matter of the Achin ambassadors, and impresses upon the Viceroy the importance of retaining the friendship of the king of "Dachem," "because it is not fitting to have him as an open enemy, especially at a time when the ships of Holland are going to those parts."

Writing on March 5th, the King once more reverts to the subject, as follows:—[4]

And because I am informed that the ambassadors of the Dachem, who were waiting in Goa hoping for a reply to the terms of peace which he wishes to conclude with the State, returned disgusted at the time that the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque was in the North, it appears to me that it would be of service to me to send him an embassy conformable to the state of affairs and to the information that you shall have of the fleet of the Hollanders that is going to those parts, of which I have commanded to advise you by others of my letters, and if they attempt to transact any commerce in that island of Samatra, it not appearing to you that anything else is advisable, of which you shall inform me; and meanwhile you shall proceed as you shall decide in Council is of most importance to my service.[5]

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[1] The orig. has "*deste mao*," which makes nonsense. I take the words to be an error of the copyist's for "*deite a mão*."

[2] This surmise proved incorrect (see *infra*).

[3] Orig., "*aquelles portos*," which is, I think, a copyist's error for "*aquellas partes*" (those parts), the expression used in other letters dealing with this subject.

[4] *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, p. 848.

[5] From another royal letter, of November 21st, 1598 (also printed in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii), we learn that the Viceroy

In a letter of March 10th, 1598, dealing with the revised instructions to captains of homeward-bound ships, the King writes[1] to the Viceroy :—

. . . And although formerly it was customary for the ships to wait for one another at Santa Ylena a short period, which did not go beyond the 20th of May, it was well shown during the past year of what importance it was to extend that period to the end of May ;[2] for this was the cause of the ship *Vencimento*, which was delayed longer than others, coming in company of those that arrived first at that island; and because the said ship there encountered those of the Hollander corsairs that were coming from the parts of the South ;[3] and it is probable that those that again make that voyage will always call at Santa Ylena, both from the necessity of watering there and to see if they can encounter any ship from India ; it is now more than ever necessary that they come with all preparation and caution, as of those that may there find enemies or meet them afterwards ; . . . .

A week later the King writes[4] as follows, showing his increasing apprehension of the gravity of the situation :—

Count Admiral, friend Viceroy.—I the King send you all greeting, as to him I love. After having written to you by these *vias* what you will see regarding the matter of the Hollanders' sailing to the parts of the South of that State, whence they returned last year, it appeared to me that, although I feel certain that on receipt of the news that reached you from Malaca of this voyage of the said Hollanders, you will have taken steps to send at once to those parts a fleet sufficient to destroy them if they

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had written by Lourenço de Brito (see *infra*, p. xlvi) to the king of Achin in a conciliatory manner, begging for a continuance of his friendship : this King Philip approves of, and enjoins all means to bring about amity. The result of this policy towards the Achinese king and his ambassadors is described below.

[1] *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, p. 865.

[2] An order to this effect was given by the King in a letter to the Viceroy, dated March 7th, 1596 (see *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 602-603). Fa. João dos Santos describes (in his *Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. II, Liv. IV, cap. xxii) how, when the ship in which he was returning to Portugal had passed the Cape of Good Hope, the sealed instructions received by the captain from the Viceroy were opened and read aloud by the ship's clerk, one of these being that the ships of the fleet were to wait for each other at St. Helena until the end of May.

[3] See *supra*, p. xxxvii and note.

[4] *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 873-874.

plan to return thither, as I am informed that they are seeking to accomplish, it would be greatly to my service to send this year a ship to Malaca, and that it would be better that there should be two if they were available (for to take two of the five that are going this year[1] did not seem to me proper), and that Cosmo de Lafetá[2] (who this year is returning to those parts,[3] as I am writing to you in another letter in reply to the memorandum regarding him that you made in yours from Monbaça)[4] should go in the said Malaca ship commissioned to assist in this emergency so pressing and of such importance as the chastisement of the said Hollanders, which must cause you the anxiety that you owe to my service; whereby you will have the satisfaction of not being deprived of one of the five ships that should all arrive at the bar of Goa; only that, having to reinforce the parts of the South in this so important emergency, you will have already there the succour of the said ship, and with a good captain and the men she carries in less time than could have been the case if the said ship had called first at Goa instead of at Malaca; and in order that you may have complete information of what I have commanded shall all be referred to your orders, there shall go with this the copy (signed by the Secretary Diogo Velho) of the

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[1] They were the *São Roque*, the *Conceicão*, the *N. S. da Paz*, the *São Simão*, and the *São Matheus*, the captain-major being D. Jeronymo Coutinho. As is stated in the note below, they were not able to leave the Tagus.

[2] This man, whose name is sometimes spelt Lafeitar, took a prominent part in the defence of Chaul and the capture of the *Morro* in 1594 (see Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha's *Chaul and Bassein*, p. 61), and commanded in various naval engagements. He was later made a Councillor of India, which office he held until his death, which is mentioned in a royal letter of February 28th, 1612 (*Documentos Remettidos*, tom. ii, p. 185). His name is mis-spelt "Laseta" in Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. i, pp. 238, 312, *nn.*

[3] He was to have gone in command of the *São Simão*; but, for some reason, he did not leave for India in 1599 (when the ships actually sailed), but in 1600, in one of the ships of the company of the new Viceroy, Aires de Saldanha (in connection with which fact Couto tells a curious story, in his *Dec. XII*, Liv. v, cap. viii).

[4] Couto (*Dec. XII*, Liv. i, cap. ii) records the dispatch in April, 1597, from Mombasa, by D. Francisco da Gama, of Miguel de Macedo to Hormuz with important letters for the King, which the captain of Hormuz sent to Spain by an Armenian, who arrived at the court at Castille at the beginning of December, 1597 (cf. footnote, *supra*, p. xxxvi). The King, however, writing to the Viceroy on February 10th, 1598, says that he has just received the latter's letters of April 8th, 1597, from Mombasa, confirming similar news he had had a few days before by way of Venice and Flanders (*Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 829-830).

Instruction[1] that I commanded to be given to him. Wherefore I enjoin upon you that, in conformity therewith, and with anything else that appears to you profitable to my service, without taking into consideration in this matter anything but what is entirely of importance to that same service of mine, you assist, favour, and encourage Como [*sic*] de Lafetá, sending to him as soon as these ships shall arrive in the monsoon of September all that you shall consider he is in need of, of vessels, men, and munitions, orders and messages, in addition to what you shall have provided; being assured that this will be one of the most special services that you can do me in your time; in order to extinguish and destroy the novelty of this navigation so prejudicial to my service and to that State, on which subject I need say no more to you than what this matter says of itself.

Written in Lisbon, the 17th of March, 1598.

THE PRINCE.[2]

Finally, on the 5th of April, 1598, when the fleet was all ready to sail,[3] and the dispatches had been sealed up, a supplementary letter was written by the Secretary, Diogo Velho, by order of the Governors of Portugal, in which the following[4] occurs:—

Now on the eve of departure of these ships there has come from the island of Madeira, where it had arrived, the ruttier[5] of the voyage that the Hollanders made to the parts of the South,

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[1] This document is not in the *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*; but it is in the archives in Portugal, and there is a transcript in the India Office in London (see Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 238, *n.*).

[2] King Philip II was at this time seriously ill (he died on September 13th); and the Prince therefore signed for him.

[3] It was unable to leave, however, owing to the mouth of the Tagus being blockaded by the Earl of Cumberland. The Venetian ambassador in Spain, writing from Madrid to the Doge and Senate on April 24th, 1598, says:—"The East India fleet is blockaded in the port of Lisbon, and we are informed that the Dutch have given a large present to the Earl of Cumberland on condition that he prevents it from leaving that port, in order that their ships, which are already despatched to the East Indies, may meet with fewer obstacles to the completion of their designs. The merchants who had put their money on board ship have now withdrawn it in despair of the fleet sailing this season" (*Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. ix, 1592-1603, p. 319).

[4] *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 884.

[5] It does not appear how this ruttier came into Portuguese hands or who sent it from Madeira.

from which have been extracted the most important points, of which it appeared to the Governors that your Excellency should be advised, and they therefore go with this letter in all the four *vias* of these ships; and in the first paragraph which treats of the bay of Antaõ Gil in the Island of Saõ Lourenço it appears to them that your Excellency should take heed, whenever an opportunity offers, to send and have prompt measures taken there; and that as regards what is said in the last paragraph, of faults committed by the Portuguese in Greater Jaoa, your Excellency must already have received information and sent to put a stop to this, and to proceed against the culprits, and especially the one named in the last paragraph; but that nevertheless they remind and advise your Excellency thereof on the part of his Majesty, to whom they are writing on this subject, and of this dispatch being sent to your Excellency; and another copy like that which goes herewith, which was extracted from the said ruttier, has been given to Cosmo de Lafetá for him on his part to do what he was ordered in this matter, and to advise your Excellency.

The document referred to in the above letter is as follows:—[1]

Extract from the Ruttier of the Voyage of the Hollanders.

In this Ruttier of the voyage that the Hollanders made to Jaoa the following is of importance.

The Bay of Antaõ Gil[2] in the Island of S. Lourenço, which is in an altitude of 16 degrees on the east coast of the said Island, and is very large and capacious, having a breadth of 10 leagues, and within it several small islands, and among them a larger one very high, behind which is a good anchorage-ground; this island is inhabited, has many fruits, oranges, lemons and citrons, and fowls, cattle, sheep and goats; from the mountain top descends a stream of water, and a quarter of a league above it is a village of two hundred houses, and other lesser ones.

Outside of this Bay is the island of Santa Maria, in which the Hollanders found the same fruits and provisions and much fish.[3]

In the strait that lies between Lesser Jaoa and the island of

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[1] *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. iii, pp. 885-886.

[2] Cf. Frank van der Does's description, in De Jonge, *op. cit.* vol. ii, p. 317; *The Description of a Voyage*, etc., p. 8. (See also *Voyages of Sir Jas. Lancaster*, p. 67.)

[3] Cf. F. van der Does in De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 312-314; *The Description of a Voyage*, etc., p. 7. (See also *Voyage of Sir J. Lancaster*, p. 67.)

Bale they experienced such a strong current of water to the north, that they disembarked with great trouble.[1]

From the island of Bale they set their course steadily to the west-south-west without making land,[2] so that Great Jaoa cannot be as broad as the ordinary descriptions of those parts make it, the south coast of this island of Greater Jaoa not having hitherto been discovered.

On arriving at the city of Bantaõ in Greater Jaoa (where they loaded what they brought back), they found there many Portuguese, who welcomed and banqueted them, and gave them information regarding the pepper that there was in the country, and of the novelty that was hoped for in the loading of their ships;[3] and among these Portuguese was one, Pedro de Attaide by name, from Malaca,[4] who advised them of all that was plotted in that city against them, and counselled them to take in their cargo speedily before the Jaos should carry into effect their evil intentions, the which maybe they would have put into execution, and these Hollanders would not have returned to their own land if this Portuguese had not been there, and others that are not named in this Ruttier.[5]

I must now refer to another English expedition, which ended even more disastrously than Lancaster's, and the fate of whose participants has hitherto been involved in mystery. The publication of Linschoten's *Reysgheschrift* and the departure of de Houtman's expedition may have been the prime factors in inducing Queen Elizabeth to sanction the dispatch, in 1596, of an expedition of three ships, at the charge of Sir Robert Dudley and

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[1] Cf. F. van der Does, in De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 348; *The Description of a Voyage*, etc., p. 31.

[2] Cf. F. van der Does, in De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 365; *The Description of a Voyage*, etc., p. 34.

[3] Cf. F. van der Does, in De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 325; *The Description of a Voyage*, etc., p. 14 *v* (which does not mention the banqueting, as does van der Does).

[4] Cf. F. van der Does, in De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 327; *The Description of a Voyage*, etc., p. 19. The former says that he was born in Goa; the latter says Malacca, and calls him "Pedro Truide." Both writers speak highly of him as a skilled pilot and good friend of the Dutch, and recount his murder in Bantam, on August 16th, 1596, by some slaves at the instigation of the Portuguese.

[5] As a matter of fact, the ill-success of the Dutch was largely due to the opposition of the Portuguese.

others, and to send by it a letter to the Emperor of China.[1] The three ships—the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp*, and the *Benjamin*,—under the command of Captain Benjamin

[1] See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies*, etc., 1513-1616, p. 98; *The Voyage of Robert Dudley*, etc. (Hakluyt Soc.), pp. xx, xxvii, 8, and notes; and Hakluyt, vol. iii, pp. 852-854, where the letter (in Latin) is printed, with an English translation. The only existing details of the fitting out of this expedition are the meagre ones prefixed by Hakluyt to the Queen's letter, as follows: "The letters of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie sent in the yere 1596 unto the great Emperor of China by M. *Richard Allot* [read *Allen*] and M. *Thomas Bromefield* marchants of the citie of *London*, who were embarqued in a fleet of 3 ships, to wit, *The Beare*, *The Beares Whelp*, and the *Beniamin*; set forth principally at the charges of the honourable knight Sir *Robert Duddeley*, and committed vnto the command and conduct of M. *Beniamin Wood*, a man of approued skill in nauigation: who, together with his ships and company (because we haue heard no certaine newes of them since the moneth of February next after their departure) we do suppose, may be arriued vpon some port of the coast of *China*, and may there be stayed by the said Emperour, or perhaps may haue some treacherie wrought against them by the *Portugales* of *Macao*, or the Spaniards of the *Philippinas*." As the Queen's letter is dated July 11th, 1596, the ships must have sailed after that date; and it appears from Hakluyt's statement that news of them reached England in February, 1597. This is confirmed by Thomas Masham, who, in his account of the third voyage set forth by Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana in 1596, says: "The 28 of Januarie [1597] wee made the furthermost part of *Barbarie*; and this morning we met with M. *Beniamin Wood* with his fleete of 3 sailes bound for the straights of *Magellan* and *China*, to wit, The *Beare*, The *Whelpe*, and the *Beniamin*: who told us that there was no good to be done in the river *Doro*." Masham then relates how the five English ships kept together to Cape Blanco, where they found two French ships in a bay, in which they stayed and refreshed. From Cape Blanco the English and French ships set out "to take the Isle of *Fogo*, if God would giue us leaue." On February 8th, they came to the island of Sal, in the Canaries, where the French admiral and the caravel stayed behind, the other ships (five English and two French) leaving on the 10th for Mayo, but the Frenchmen deserting them in the night. Next day the five English ships anchored on the south of Mayo, where they found six Flemish ships lading salt. "Here," says Masham, "ended our determination concerning the invading of *Fogo*. And here wee left the flie-boat of *Dartmouth* lading salte, and the *China*-fleete to refresh themselues with goates, who as I haue heard since had at the village . . . great store of dryed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe vnto them in their long voyage. So vpon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee set saile and stood for the coast of *Wiana*, which wee were bound for" (Hakluyt, vol. iii, pp. 692-693). The river *Doro* mentioned by Masham is evidently the Rio Oro, on the coast of north-west Africa, just north of the Tropic of Cancer; and it would seem as if Wood's ships had been there before falling in with the other two Englishmen. It will be

Wood, left England in the latter half of 1596; and apparently one of them was lost off the coast of South Africa; for when we first hear of the fleet from Portuguese sources only two ships are mentioned. The earliest certain reference occurs in the annual letter of the Chamber of Goa to the King, written in December, 1597, in which the writers say:—[1]

The Count Viceroy wintered in Mombaça.[2] He arrived at this city on the 22nd of May last in rowing vessels. . . . He found everything necessary for war in a state of decay, and with little remedy; he strove with all speed to remedy everything, ordering the repair of galleys that time had put into disrepair, and then in the winter he ordered to be made in the north many light rowing vessels, and many crews of sailors for them, which were lacking; and having advice on the 20th of August from the captain of Moçambique that in July there passed within sight of the said fortress two English ships, the Count, in respect to this, with great speed prepared a large fleet of two galleons, one of which he purchased for sixteen thousand five hundred *pardáos*, two royal galleys, and nine foists, which he bought because of there being none of your Majesty's in the dockyard[3] that could be made use of; going down to the dockyard, dining, supping, and sleeping there; the whole of this fleet well supplied with munitions and artillery, the greater part of which he ordered to be made, because

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noticed that Masham speaks of Wood's ships as "bound for the straights of Magellan." If they ever intended to go to China by that route they must have abandoned the idea after Masham parted from them, as will be seen by the Portuguese accounts of their doings, which I have translated. The Venetian ambassador in Spain, writing from Madrid to the Doge and Senate on January 8th, 1597, says: "News from Lisbon that two English ships have sacked Pineda, the principal emporium of the Congo. This causes still greater anxiety to the Portuguese, when they see that the enemy not only infests the shores of Spain and Portugal, but appears in distant regions where the navigation is very difficult" (*Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. ix, 1592-1603, p. 251). This can hardly, however, have reference to Capt. Wood's ships, nor can I find any confirmation of the reported sack of Mpinda by English ships (cf. *Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, pp. 13, *n.*, 165). For later tidings of Wood's vessels received in England through Lisbon, see footnote *infra*, p. li.

[1] *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. i, Pt. 1, pp. 50-51.

[2] See *supra*, p. xl and note.

[3] Orig., *ribeira*=river, river-bank; but I have here, and in the extract from Couto below, translated it "dockyard," which better conveys the sense. For a description of the *ribeira* at Goa, see Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 45.

of there being none large or small, and six hundred paid soldiers, and as captain-major thereof Lourenço de Brito, an old fidalgo, and one of experience,[1] who ordered sail to be set on the 20th of September in the direction of Malaqua, on account of its being understood that the enemies would be going there, and because of having had news during the past year that in Sunda were sailing about three other ships and a pinnace;[2] God grant that the fleet may encounter and disperse them, so that they may not return to those parts to carry on the commerce in drugs that they aim at. . . .

We call your Majesty's attention to the fact that the necessities and novelties under which the Count Viceroy assumed the government of this State are great and extraordinary, because . . . the English are coming into the South Sea, and during this present year have captured on this coast two of our ships that were going to Bengalla,[3] an unheard-of thing, wherefore it is most important that your Majesty should command with urgency that this State be provided with men, and arms, and money, since these matters do not admit of delay.

Father João dos Santos, who was at Mozambique at the time, thus describes the visit of the two English ships (in his *Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. II, Liv. III, cap. xviii):—

At this time, when we arrived at Moçambique,[4] the people of this island were all uneasy owing to the news they had had, that the English were coming to it, which was sent by Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, Governor of India,[5] to the captain of Moçambique, advising him to prepare for their arrival, because he had received word by land from Portugal, that a large fleet of English was going out to India, and that they might perchance call at

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[1] Couto mentions him among those that took a prominent part in the defence of Chaul during the siege of 1570-71 (*Dec. VIII*, cap. xxxiii). For his later history, see *infra*.

[2] These were the four vessels of Cornelis de Houtman's fleet (see *supra*, p. xxxiv). They arrived at Bantam in June, 1596; but the news of their presence in those waters appears not to have reached Goa through Malacca until after the homeward ships of 1597 had sailed.

[3] See Couto's account of this, *infra*, p. li.

[4] On May 26th, 1595, from Quirimba and Sofala, where Dos Santos had been making a stay.

[5] A strange error: Manoel de Sousa Coutinho ceased to be Governor of India on May 15th, 1591, when Mathias de Albuquerque arrived at Goa as Viceroy (see *supra*, p. xv). But Dos Santos throughout confuses the 1591 and 1597 visits of the English ships to Titangone (cf. *supra*, p. xxxiv). This is the more curious, in that he was at Mozambique on both occasions.

Moçambique on the way. On account of which the residents of this island brought all the food and goods that they possessed inside the fortress, which thus became overcrowded. Dom Hieronymo de Azevedo, who was at that time captain,[1] advised the captain of the coast of Melinde, Bras d'Aguiar, to withdraw to Moçambique. The latter at once came there with two foists full of soldiers, and in addition two *pangayos* laden with provisions.[2] All of which might then have been dispensed with, because the English did not come until two years afterwards in two ships only. The which came in sight of Moçambique on the 13th of June,[3] 1597, and passed by, pursuing their voyage for Malaca, where, it was afterwards learnt, they arrived.[4] And already in the year 1591, six years before these two ships came, there had come a single ship of English to Moçambique, which was the first that went out to India since Francisco Drach.[5] The which ship cast anchor in front of Titangòne (a very famous spring, five miles from Moçambique),[6] where she watered on the 27th of October[7] of the said year, and thence took her course for Malaca.[8]

Couto's account of these events is as follows. After recording (in *Dec. XII*, Liv. I, cap. vii) the arrival at Goa on August 19th, 1597, of a galliot from Mozambique, he proceeds:—

This captain brought letters from Nuno da Cunha, captain of that fortress,[9] in which he stated, that in the past July there were

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[1] Another error: D. Jeronymo de Azevedo had left Mozambique for India some years before, and was at this time (1595) captain of the conquest of Ceylon. From Couto's account, given below, it will be seen that the captain of Mozambique at this time was Nuno da Cunha.

[2] The English ships appear to have captured one or both of these vessels (see *Voyages of Sir J. Lancaster*, pp. 5, 26).

[3] Both the Goa Chamber and Couto say that the ships passed in July.

[4] They arrived only in the Straits of Malacca, and not at Malacca itself (see below).

[5] Francis Drake (see *supra*, p. xxv).

[6] Quitangonha island at the northern end of Conducia Bay (see *Voyages of Sir Jas. Lancaster*, pp. 5, 26; also Dos Santos, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, Liv. III, cap. iv, and English translation in Theal's *Records o South-Eastern Africa*, vol. vii, p. 317).

[7] The month is correct, and possibly the day also. (Neither Barker nor May, in their accounts of this voyage, gives the exact date.)

[8] She did not get as far as Malacca, however.

[9] See Theal's *Beginnings of South African History*, p. 276, and p. 361.

two Dutch [*English*][1] ships in the port of Titangòne,[2] five leagues from Moçambique, a little more or less, taking in water; and that it seemed to him that they were going to set their course for Sunda. At this news the Count was troubled, and all the city, because of its being a new thing, those people having never come round to these parts;[3] and he at once summoned a council of the Archbishop, D. Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, and all the old captains, and showed them the letter, pointing out to them, that if these ships went where they were said to be going they might do great harm to our fortress at Malaca by stirring up the neighbouring peoples against it, and by damaging the trade of those parts, which was the largest in India, and by capturing the ships from China and Japan, in which there always came more than two millions of gold of all the inhabitants of the cities of India:[4] that he was quite ready to do all that might be voted in that council, because for that purpose he had much money, galleons, galleys, foists, artillery, and everything else that might be necessary; and above all much spirit, zeal, and willingness to assist in whatever should be for the service of the King; because he had not come to India to rest, but to defend it, and to extend it, as his predecessors had done: that he begged them to give him their opinions in writing, in order that they might more freely

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[1] It will be seen that Couto persistently describes these ships as "Dutch," although the Goa Chamber and Dos Santos correctly designate them English. I cannot account for Couto's error, which has the appearance of deliberate falsification.

[2] Wood's ships called at "Titangone" evidently on the advice of Captain Lancaster, who watered here in 1591, as mentioned above.

[3] An erroneous statement, whether it refer to the Dutch or to the English. Faria y Sousa relates, and moralizes on, this event as follows:—"From this time there appears in India the vile and unexpected scourge of Portuguese arrogance, and covetousness, and carelessness. Yet were it imprudent not to expect it to be vile: because rarely does God chastise any great people, but He does it by a humble hand. In this month of September [*sic*] there came news to Goa, of there having been the year before [*sic*] in the port of Titangone the first two ships from Holland [*sic*], bold to sound those waters, which had remained in long possession through not being ploughed by other keels than ours. It was understood that they had their bows directed towards the Island of Sunda [*sic:* see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* 'Sunda']. It was at once recognised what a great conflagration this little spark portended to our navigation, and hopes, and even possessions, because by this time they nearly all sustained themselves more by credit than by foresight: a thing common in those that possess without caution and with covetousness, and the chief weapon of those that come in with pretensions with new covetousness and without carelessness" (*Asia Portuguesa*, tom. III, Pt. II, cap. i).

[4] Cf. Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 74; Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. i, pp. 173-174.

say what they thought was proper for the service of God and the King, since to these he had, by their means, to give an account. In accordance with this proposal they brought him next day all their opinions in writing; and in these most were agreed that there should be sent two galleons, three galleys, and ten foists, with five hundred men, which was a fleet sufficient to secure those parts, and to search for the Dutch ships, and to give protection to those from China and other parts.

This having been agreed to, the Count Admiral went across to the great dockyard of the fleets, there being then no *veador da fazenda*,[1] because Vicencio de Bune, who had served in that office by order of Mathias de Alboquerque,[2] had gone to the Kingdom in the previous January of 1597, on learning that the Count Admiral was coming, the latter being undesirous of appointing anyone to that post, because he said that he wished to undertake the duties, and so it was currently reported; but as soon as he shifted to the dockyard he appointed D. Francisco de Noronha to discharge the duties as long as that business of the fleets lasted;[3] and to his brother, D. Luiz da Gama,[4] he intrusted the magazines of artillery and munitions; and to D. Antonio de Lima, who had

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[1] Comptroller of Revenue. The two most famous men that held this important office during the sixteenth century were Afonso Mexia and Simão Botelho (see Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 206-207, 290-298).

[2] The appointment of Vicencio de Brune (not "Bune"), in supersession of Antonio Giralte, called forth letters (dated January 2nd and March 9th, 1596) from the King to the Viceroy and the Goa Chamber, strongly condemnatory of the action of Mathias de Albuquerque, ordering Antonio Giralte to be reappointed and compensated, and Vicencio de Brune (who is called a "stranger") to refund the pay he had received (see *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. i, Pt. I, p. 116, Pt. II, p. 42; fasc. iii, pp. 577-8, 642; Couto, *Dec. XII*, Liv. I, cap. vii).

[3] The Goa Chamber, in their letter of December 17th, 1597, quoted from above, wrote to the King:—"Dom Francisco de Noronha came from Baçaim with his household to this court, where he is assisting, accompanied by his servants, without any scandal and with much satisfaction; and for the negotiation of the fleet that the Count sent to the Southern Sea he elected him as *vedor da fazenda* of the *ribeira* as long as it was being furnished with everything necessary, with which expedition he proceeded with all the diligence and fervour required by the brevity with which the departure was effected; wherefore he is worthy of the favours and honours of your Majesty."

[4] Who commanded the ship in which the Count Viceroy left for India, and was nominated for the captaincy of Hormuz. His appointment as captain-major of the Malabar coast created much ill-feeling, says Couto, who, however, justifies the Viceroy's action (*Dec. XII*, Liv. I, cap. vii).

been nominated to the captaincy of Ormuz,[1] the storehouses of provisions, with orders to all the customs officers to obey him as they would himself personally, and on his simple written demands to supply all that was needful for that fleet.

He then proceeded to the election of the captain-major thereof, who was Lourenço de Brito, he being an old fidalgo, of great experience,[2] and one who had served many years in India as captain and captain-major of fleets, and had formerly been captain of Çofala (and on account of his having been removed before the expiry of his term of office, the King had appointed him to it for another three years),[3] and a man whom many considered on his merits to be in the first succession for the government of India.[4] This fidalgo began to proceed with the getting ready of his fleet; and the Count Viceroy did not rest until he had got it at the bar, and paid the soldiers three-fourths of their pay, and supplied sailors for all the vessels at increased wages; and such haste was made with everything that soon he had the whole fleet at the bar, which consisted of the two galleons of which we have spoken, in one of which went the captain-major, and in the other Antonio Pereira Coutinho, formerly captain of Chaul. The galleys were two, in which went as captain of the one D. Luiz de Noronha, son of the Conde de Linhares, the late *vedor da fazenda*, who had come from the Kingdom in the year 1595, and who carried a provisional appointment as admiral[5] of the fleet; and of the other, D. Jeronymo de Noronha, son of D. Antonio de Menezes. The other galley, to complete the number of three, was to be taken on at Malaca, whither had gone as captain during the past year Ruy Dias de Aguiar Coutinho. The foists were nine, as captains of which went D. Francisco Henriques, who is at present[6] serving as captain of Malaca;[7] Estevão Teixeira de Macedo, who is at

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[1] He left Goa at the end of 1597, to take up this appointment, left vacant by the death of Antonio de Azevedo (see *supra*, p. xvi, *n.*).

[2] See *supra*, p. xlvi.

[3] Couto, in enumerating various fidalgos that accompanied the Count Viceroy to India in 1596, mentions "Lourenço de Brito, who went nominated for the captaincy of Sofala and Moçambique, which he had already held for some time, and had been deposed, and sent to the Kingdom for certain faults, where he cleared himself, and the King nominated him for three years complete to the same fortress" (*Dec. XII*, Liv. I, cap. i).

[4] Any likelihood of his succeeding to the government of India must, one would think, have disappeared after his mismanagement of this expedition.

[5] See *infra*, p. 9, *n.*

[6] That is, in 1611, when Couto wrote this unfinished Decade.

[7] In 1613 he was removed from the post for suspected peculation, and brought an action claiming certain rights connected with goods shipped from the Archipelago to India, but lost it (Bocarro, *Dec. XIII*, cap. xlvi; *Documentos Remettidos*, tom. i, pp. 125-6, 417, 458).

present captain of the fortress of Moçambique; Affonso Telles de Menezes, son of Francisco da Silva de Menezes; Nicoláo Pereira de Miranda, son of Henrique Henriques de Miranda, late grand chamberlain of the Cardinal D. Henrique whilst cardinal, and after he became King was his master of the horse; Luiz Lopes de Sousa; Jeronymo Botelho, having the reversion of the captaincy of Malaca, who died in company with the Viceroy D. Martim Affonso de Castro;[1] Jorge de Lima Barreto, D. Diogo Lobo, son of D. Rodrigo Lobo, and João de Seixas.

This fleet left the bar of Goa for Sunda on the 24th of September. . . . .

The Dutch [*English*] ships, of which Nuno da Cunha advised the Count, as soon as they had finished watering at Titangone, set sail, and came in sight of the coast of India below Goa,[2] and then ran down the Malavar coast as far as Cape Comorim, where they fell in with some merchant ships that had left Goa for Bengala to load rice, which they captured and plundered, carrying off from them a large sum of money that was going in them for the cargo;[3] one of them, I remember, belonged to Diogo Catella, a *casado*[4] of Goa, whom they afterwards released with the rest of the Portuguese, and even provided them with some things; and thence they set their course for Malaca,[5] at which coast they arrived, as we shall see further on.

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[1] Meaning, probably, in the disastrous defeat of the Portuguese fleet off Malacca by Cornelis Matelief in 1606 (see Pyrard, vol. ii, pp. xvi, 154).

[2] This could not have been earlier than some time in October, so that more than two months must have been occupied in crossing the Indian Ocean.

[3] Gyles van Harwick (*i.e.*, Wm. Resould), writing from Lisbon on September 30th, 1598, to Peter Artson, merchant (*i.e.*, Sir Robt. Cecil), reports that "on 1st August three carracks arrived from India, and one was burnt there full laden. They bring news that two English ships in India have taken two Portugal ships, rich with treasure, that were on their voyage from Goa to China" [*sic*]; and the writer "supposes it is Capt. Wood in Mr. [*sic*] Dudley's shipping." He also mentions a "report of great preparations made in India by the Portugal to prevent the Flemings trading at Sunda. Takes it to be a Portugal brag" (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1598-1601, p. 97; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 99).

[4] Literally "married man," but used with a special meaning. The *casados* enjoyed certain privileges (see Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 72; Linschoten, vol. i, pp. 188, 199, and note; Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 125).

[5] From the next extract from Couto it will be seen that Wood's ships waited about off Cape Comorin, probably in the hope of further prizes. They cannot have stayed there very long, and probably made a short cruise in the Bay of Bengal before setting their course for the Malacca Straits, where they arrived early in January, 1598.

In cap. xii of the same book of his last *Decada*, Couto thus records the strange doings of the fleet sent to chastise these interlopers :—

We have already, in Chapter VII above, stated that Lourenço de Brito, captain-major of the fleet that the Count Admiral Viceroy sent to Malaca in search of the Dutch [*English*] ships, left Goa on the 24th of September, 1597. He arrived at Malaca safely with the whole fleet, except the galliot, the captain of which was Luiz Lopes de Sousa, which, by reason of the storm that she encountered, went ashore at Manar, where she was wrecked; but the captain with all the soldiers embarked in a ship that left there for Malaca, and joined the fleet. Whilst Lourenço de Brito was at Malaca with this fleet, he learnt from a ship that had left Cochim later, that the two Dutch [*English*] ships were waiting at Cape Comorim; wherefore a council was called of Lourenço de Brito, Martim Affonso de Mello Coutinho, actual captain of the fortress,[1] and Francisco da Silva de Menezes, who had served in that post,[2] with other persons of experience; and it was unanimously resolved, being the general opinion, that Lourenço de Brito should go with his whole fleet to Sunda and the coast of Jaoa, because a little while before the inhabitants of that port had made great havoc of the Portuguese and native Christians, killing them and plundering their goods,[3] and that he might be able to persuade the kings not to receive at their ports strange nations from Europe: and that he should try to get hold of two Englishmen, who, it was understood, had remained at Bale as hostages that the others would return with capital to load drugs;[4] and should do everything else that he considered to the service of his Majesty.

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[1] See *supra*, p. xvii, *n.*

[2] See *infra*, pp. 1, *n.*, 225, *n.*

[3] I have found no account of these events.

[4] The two "Englishmen" were, in fact, Hollanders belonging to C. de Houtman's fleet of 1595. In the narrative of that voyage we read :—"The 22. of Januarie [*sic*, for "Februarie," 1597] two of our men that sayled in the *Mauritius* stayed on lande, but wee knewe not the cause: it should seeme some great promises had beene made vnto them, for as we vnderstoode it, the King was very desirous to haue all sortes of strange nations about him, but our people were therein mvch ouerseene, for there they liued among heathens, that neyther knewe God nor his commandementes, it appeared that their youthes and wilde heades did not remember it, one of their names was *Emanuel Rodenburgh* of *Amsterdam*, the other *Jacob Cuyper*, of *Delft*: within a day or two they sent vnto vs for their clothes, but wee sent them not. . . . The 25. of Februarie we hoysed ankers, minding to set saile & so go homeward, leauing our two men aforesaid on land. . . ." (*The Description of a Voyage*, etc., p. 33). What became of these men I do not know.

This order was at once carried out, and the fleet left,[1] well provided with everything needful; and although the Count Viceroy, in the instructions that he gave to Lourenço de Brito, had warned him not to allow any violence or insult to be offered to the boats he might meet sailing to Sunda and Jaoa, he paid so little attention to this, that, on meeting with some carrying provisions, of which he was in want, he ordered to be taken therefrom whatever he chose without paying them for it. These boats went and gave the alarm in Sunda and on the coast of Jaoa regarding the fleet, and told of the violence that had been done to them, on which they all armed themselves. And Jorge de Lima, captain of a galliot, captured a *soma*[2] of Chincheos[3] loaded with drugs, and the captains of the galleys did the same to a *soma* carrying Chincheos; and this becoming known in Sunda, they dissimulated until they had got on shore several Portuguese and the factor of the fleet: and this warning was not enough, nor the fact that when the admiral of the fleet, D. Luiz de Noronha, came with the boats of the galleys and other boats to get water, those on shore resisted them; and, because they were in want of water, the galleys went to get it further down at some distance from the galleons, when there came out against them many rowing boats, which gave chase to them: and as the galleys were much hampered in their movements by the goods that they had taken in plunder from the *somas* of the Chincheos, the artillery was unable to play, and, moreover, each of them carried no more than twenty soldiers, the rest being on shore, and these so careless, that the enemy easily got amongst them and killed the three captains, D. Luiz and D. Jeronymo de Noronha, and Ruy Diaz de Aguiar Coutinho. The captain-major, Lourenço de Brito, was unable to come to their assistance whilst the fight lasted, because he was behind a point at the same time that a high tide was running, and such a strong breeze was blowing that neither the galleons nor the galliots could weigh anchor: and for some days the captain-major had been dissatisfied with the captains of the galleys, because he had thought that they did not obey him with the promptitude that was necessary.[4]

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[1] Apparently towards the end of 1597.

[2] This word occurs frequently in Couto. Smyth's *Sailor's Word-Book* explains it as "a Japanese junk of burden," and Fennell's *Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases*, as "Jap.: a small trading junk." (The latter authority also cites two instances of its use in Cocks's *Diary*. See also *Voyage of Captain John Saris*, p. 93 and notes.)

[3] See footnotes on pp. 3 and 7, *infra*.

[4] In a letter of 14th March, 1601, from Madrid, the King gives the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha full instructions regarding an expedition that he was ordered to undertake in person for the purpose of

And because at this time it was the monsoon for Malaca, the next day he set sail, without punishing or exacting satisfaction from that port,[1] or any other in that kingdom, for this insult, although the whole coast of Jaoa was just suited for carrying out successful expeditions with the strength of that fleet. He reached Malaca on the 10th of July, 1598,[2] and remained there until the 1st of January, when he embarked for Goa:[3] and during this time he might have gone to capture the Hollanders [*English*] in search of whom he had set out, who, after going about in many directions, and becoming reduced to a single ship, they having scuttled the other, retired to the port of Quedá, which is sixty leagues distant from Malaca, whither the news was speedily brought.[4] And it was of no avail that the captain of the fortress and the officers of the Chamber requested him to go to Quedá to seize that ship,—he would not do it, nor anything else of the many things that they suggested to him; and the Count Viceroy having been advised of this, before the arrival at Goa of Lourenço de Brito, because he came very leisurely, before he disembarked sent word to him by the Secretary that he was to remain in his house until he had cleared himself of certain charges which he forwarded to him, taken from the letters of the captain, auditor, city of Malaca, and other persons. And for the purpose of considering his excuses the Count Viceroy summoned the Council, and ordered them to be voted on, because he wished to introduce into that State the practice that the faults of captains committed in the exercise of war should be punished by the Council, and not by the judges; but for private reasons the Council did not desire to take part therein, it being a matter of public advantage, and they agreed that it should be settled by the ordinary means, and this was done; and he was condemned by the Supreme Court to a fine of a large sum of money, which he paid before

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chastising "the rebels of Sunda and other enemies," "and, in particular, those that defeated and captured the three galleys of the fleet in which Lourenço de Brito went." The King also points out that the fate of these galleys showed the danger of taking goods into war vessels, and commands that this be entirely discontinued, and all property of enemies be burnt. At the same time he strictly prohibits attacks on vessels of Chincheos (British Museum *Addit. MS.* 20,562, letter No. 5). The Viceroy did not undertake the expedition referred to, but sent one under the command of André Furtado de Mendoça (see *Voyage of Captain John Saris*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv).

[1] The details given are insufficient for the identification of the place.

[2] So that more than six months had been occupied by Lourenço de Brito's fleet in the manner described by Couto.

[3] The Malacca China fleet always left for India early in January, which was the suitable "monsoon" for that voyage.

[4] See the next extract for fuller details.

taking over the command of the fortress of Sofala, to which he had been appointed.[1]

Although the fleet under Lourenço de Brito thus failed to accomplish the object for which it was dispatched, we learn from the same historian how another Portuguese fleet chanced to meet the two interlopers, and what was the result of the encounter. In cap. xvi of the same book of his Twelfth Decade, Couto writes :—

While the fleet of Lourenço de Brito was still in Sunda, those in Malaca being unaware of the Dutch [*English*] ships that were already going about on that coast,[2] the fleet that was to go to India was got ready, which was as follows : the ship of Miguel da Cunha, in which was to embark Francisco da Silva de Menezes, whose term of office as captain of that fortress had expired,[3] and who was going as captain-major of all those ships ; the ship of the China voyage, the captain of which was Ruy Mendes de Figueiredo ; and a ship of Luiz de Mendoça, the captain of which was a brother-in-law of his ; another ship of the same Francisco da Silva de Menezes, which had come from China, the captain of which was Fernão de Almeida ; two junks, and a small galliot. And, it having been fixed that all these ships should sail on Twelfth Day, the previous day João Gomes Fayo set sail, without waiting for the rest of the fleet, which weighed anchor next day ; and on the 9th, when he was thirty leagues from Malaca, in the altitude of the islands of Puluparcelar,[4] João Gomes Fayo, who was on in advance, caught sight of the two Dutch [*English*]

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[1] In Liv. IV, cap. vii, of this same Decade, Couto says :—"After the Count Admiral had dispatched the *vias* to Cochim [at the end of 1599], he dispatched Lourenço de Brito to go and command the fortress of Çofala, on account of his being already free, with much honour, from the faults charged against him in connection with the expedition in Sunda." After serving his three years at Sofala, Lourenço de Brito appears to have been appointed to Mozambique, whence, in 1604, he went on a foolhardy expedition against a great Kafir horde, which resulted in disaster to his force and his own disgrace (see Theal's *Beginning of South African History*, p. 322 ; *Documentos Remettidos*, tom. i, pp. 2, 42, 72, 92).

[2] They could not have been long there at this time (see note *supra*).

[3] See *supra*, p. lii and note.

[4] I can find no "Pulo Parcelar" in the Admiralty chart of the Malacca Straits ; but "Parcelar Pt." is marked, a little to the south of the Langat river, and the encounter must have taken place somewhere off this point. "Pulo Parcelar" is entered in Linschoten's Map of the Eastern Seas (given at p. 192 of the *Voyage of Capt. John Saris*).

ships, which he at once recognised, wherefore he turned back until he sighted the rest of the fleet, when he dispatched a *balão*[1] to Francisco da Silva de Menezes, with a message advising him that they were the ships of the Hollanders [*English.*] The latter, as soon as they saw the ship of João Gomes Fayo, went towards her with great boldness.

On the arrival of the *balão* with the message, Francisco da Silva de Menezes assembled in his ship all the captains and the others, and told them the news, and asked them what ought to be done. The tidings caused great perturbation in some, and the ships began to get out of hand, and some persons besought Francisco da Silva de Menezes that they should return to Malaca, that the wind would serve them to go thither, and that they should not risk going to India, because the enemy would be sure to keep following after them and annoying them the whole way ; and in consequence of our people being disordered, it was certain that they would go on capturing those ships one by one. In the midst of this murmuring, which was great, there were not wanting men who were lovers of honour, who intervened, and said to Francisco da Silva de Menezes that not only could they fight the ships, but with their boats alone could capture and destroy them : that he should go forward, and God would give him victory. On this, and weighing well the fact that the enemy might overtake them before they reached Malaca, they prepared to fight the enemy.[2]

Our ships had come to an anchor, and in front of all that of João Gomes Fayo, which had already retired before the bombardings of the enemy, who, seeing our fleet, concluded that it was all one of merchants, in which they would find much profit and little danger : they determined therefore to attack them, and did so, coming on dressed with many white flags and beautiful banners, and came sailing up to our ships, and cast anchor next that of João Gomes Fayo. One of our ships let fly at them with an *espera*,[3] which hit one of the enemy's ships, and caused it considerable damage, at which they hauled down their white

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[1] A kind of rowing boat (see *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* "Baloon, Balloon"). The word is in common use in Ceylon under the form "ballam."

[2] Faria y Sousa, in narrating this incident, says :—"Although the two Dutch ships did not have good fortune, their commanders began with it : for, although our ships were six, they were so afraid of them, that they almost agreed to return to port : and they would have done so, if four men, who either were carrying no goods or esteemed them less than honour, had not opposed it. So much is the holder inspired with fear by what he guards, or the guardian by what he holds" (*Asia Portuguesa*, tom. III, Pt. II, cap. i).

[3] Correctly, *esphera* or *esfera*, which was the name of a kind of cannon.

flags, and hoisted others of silk, as if they were happy to have that battle: and then began a furious play of bombard-shots, of which the ship of João Gomes Fayo received the greater part, who, however, answered it with another very fair salvo, remaining all the time in the waist and directing the working of the guns. The other ships also replied very well to them, and thus a very stiff engagement was carried on, which lasted from sunset, when it began, until eight o'clock at night. And from that time until morning was spent by our people in making preparations, for they were determined to fight and to board those ships, having now plucked up more courage; and this they did, sailing in very good order, and the enemy attacking them here and there on the flanks; and so for eight days continuously they went on in this manner, fighting furiously, the enemy by their lightness escaping being boarded by our ships. In all the ships there was some damage, and persons wounded; and in that of Francisco da Silva de Menezes, a shot penetrated to the cabin where were his wife and daughters, and killed one who was the elder and two female slaves. The enemy did not go scot-free, for the ordnance of our ships damaged them in many parts, and made holes in their sides, which gave them much trouble. They determined to board the ship of Luiz de Mendoça, which seemed best suited for their purpose, and came at her, but our ships came to her assistance and fell upon those of the enemy, doing no little damage, fustigating them with the ordnance and the arquebus fire in such a way that they made them desist.

At this time there occurred a disaster, which was the catching fire of the powder that was in the waist of the enemy's admiral, which wrought great havoc, burning many, and caused them to retire, practically demolished. João Gomes Fayo wished to advise those at Malaca of that affair, and dispatched as messenger a soldier named Antonio Lopes de Almeida, with a letter of his, and another from Francisco da Silva de Menezes for the captain, in which they gave him an account of how they had got on, and of what had happened so far. Our fleet then proceeded on its way to Cochim.[1] The captain of Malaca, as soon as Antonio Lopes de Almeida arrived with these letters, from which he learnt what had happened, at once dispatched two very light *balões* to find out in what latitude the Dutch [*English*] ships lay. These *balões* went as far as Pulobotum[2] without obtaining news of them; and,

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[1] At the end of the next chapter Couto tells us that at Cannanore "D. Diogo Coutinho, captain-major of Cape Comorim, collected the ships that we have spoken of from Malaca, which fought with the Hollanders [*English*], and those from Bengala, and vessels from the coast of Coromandel, and with a large *cafila* set out for Goa, where he arrived safely with all a little after the 15th of May."

[2] Pulo Butung, on the north-west coast of the Malay Peninsu a.

not being able to go as far as Nicubar, they returned without news of them. Whereupon he dispatched another larger vessel to go to the Polvoreira Island[1] and as far as Nicubar to find out about them; in order, if they remained in this quarter, to go and look for them with three ships that were still lying in port well equipped; and he dispatched a boat to Sunda, by which he sent advice to Lourenço de Brito of what was taking place.[2] The boat that the captain sent to Nicubar also returned without any news. The enemy retired to the port of Queda[3] with many men killed, and the rest so wounded, that they spent much time in recuperating: and from lack of men, whom our people had killed, they left in that port the ship of lesser burden, and in the other, which was the admiral,[4] they embarked what they had, and went off in great haste, so much so, that they left on shore several wounded men, because the natives wished to attack them for various wrongs that they had done to them, and shaped their course for Bengalla; and in the latitude of Martavão on the coast of Pegu they were lost in that *macareo*.[5]

That the above account of the fate of the last surviving ship of Captain Wood's expedition is correct, I see no

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[1] "An island that we call the *Polvoreira*, and they of the country *Barala*, which means 'house of God,' by reason of an ancient temple which stood there" (Barros, *Dec. II*, Liv. VI, cap. i). It is the "Pulo Berhala (Varela)" of the Admiralty chart. ("Pulo Bárahla" means "idol island:" see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Varela.") In Linschoten's Map of the Eastern Seas (*u. s.*) the name appears as "Apoluoreira." (*Polvoreira* is a pseudo-Portuguese word, which might be taken to mean "powder-mill." For other instances of Portuguized place-names, see *infra*, p. 20.)

[2] The extraordinary *fainéance* of Lourenço de Brito in regard to the matter was due probably to mortified pride on learning that the "Hollanders," whom he had set forth to chastise, had already been effectually dealt with by a much inferior force to his.

[3] "Old Kedah" of the Admiralty chart, a little to the north of the Muda river. For the history of this place, see Crawfurd's *Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, *s.v.* "Queda."

[4] As we do not know which of the three ships that comprised Wood's fleet these two were, it is impossible to say which is here spoken of as "the admiral." The size of the *Benjamin* I do not know; as regards the *Bear* and the *Bear's Whelp*, see *The Voyage of Robert Dudley*, p. xix.

[5] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Macareo." Barros, describing the kingdom of Pegu, says that the coast "is very full of islands, and most of the rivers of the principal ports have such a great *macareo* that many ships perish" (*Dec. III*, Liv. III, cap. iv).

reason to doubt.[1] But, it will be asked, how is this to be reconciled with the statements of Purchas? In his *Pilgrimes*, Pt. I, Bk. III, pp. 110-113, Purchas gives the translation of an extract from a Spanish letter which he found among Hakluyt's papers, and to this he prefixes a brief introduction, under the heading, "The Voyage of Master *Beniamin Wood* into the East Indies, and the miserable disastrous success thereof." After quoting from Hakluyt (*u. s.*, p. xliv, *n.*) the details of the origin of this expedition, and a few lines of the Queen's letter to the Emperor of China, Purchas adds :—

> This, their honourable expedition, and gracious commendation by her Maiestie to the King of *China* in their marchandizing affaires, had not answerable successe; but hath suffered a double disaster: first, in the miserable perishing of the Fleet, and next in the losse of the Historie and Relation of that Tragedie. Some broken Plankes, as after a shipwracke, have yet beene encountered from the West Indies, which giue vs some notice of this East Indian disaduenture. *Quæ Regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?* This intelligence wee have by the intercepted Letters[2] of *Licentiate Alcasar de Villa Señor*, Auditor of the Royall Audience of Saint *Domingo*, and Judge of Commission in *Puerto Rico*, and Captaine-Generall of the Prouinces of New *Andalusia*, written to the King and his Royall Councell of the Indies. An extract whereof, so much as concerneth this businesse, here followeth. Wherein, let not the imputation of Robbery or Piracie trouble the Reader, being the words of a Spaniard, and the deeds of English in the time of warre twixt vs and *Spaine*.[3]

The extract from the letter, which is dated "From *Porto-rico* the second of October, 1601," commences thus :—

> An other Commission your Royall Audience committed vnto mee, to punishe offenders that did vsurpe a great quantitie of

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[1] Faria y Sousa, after recounting the fight, and the fate of the two ships, adds :—"This was the beginning of Holland [*sic*] in India; from which it is to be well noted, that no one should ever be disheartened by a losing beginning, whence it might be supposed that he would issue victorious" (*Asia Portuguesa*, tom. III, Pt. II, cap. i).

[2] England being at war with Spain at the time, many Spanish letters were intercepted by English ships.

[3] Cf. the remarks of Thos. Astley (*Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. i, p. 254).

goods of your Maiesties, in the Island of *Vtias*. Of the state that I had in the end of the last yeere, I sent relation to your Maiestie, inserting a declaration of one *Thomas*, an English man, of the goods that in the said Island hee and his companions had, and for this onely I will make a summarie relation of the case, and the state of the Suite, by the which will appeare, that out of *England* went three Shippes for the *India* orientall of *Portugall*, which tooke three Portugall Shippes, subiects to your Maiestie, whereof one of them came from the Citie of *Goa*, and from the Captaine they tooke a great rich stone, which he said he carried for your Maiestie, the proportion whereof went in the said Relation. They had in them also many bagges of Royalls of eight and foure, for the pay of the Souldiers, which your Maiestie hath in Garrison, in a Castle Frontire of the said *India*; and the said English-men rob'd them of it, and much more goods appertaining to your Maiesties subiects: and by sicknes of the English-men, remained only foure, which in a boat put all the goods they could, which they had robbed from your Maiestie and your subiects, and with it chanced to a Riuer in the Island of *Vtias*,[1] three leagues from this Island: where they tooke out their goods on land, where their Boat was sunke and lost: so they remained on th' Island, with only one small Boat made of boords, which they had taken from certaine Fisher-men, at the head of Saint *John* of this Island: with the which they came for water hither, and left one *George*, an English-man, one of the foure that arriued in the said Island of *Vtias*.

The letter then goes on to narrate how this George, being found by six Spaniards (named), told them of the treasures; whereupon these six resolved to murder the English and steal the goods. They succeeded in killing Richard, Daniel, and George; but Thomas managed to escape to the mainland of Puerto Rico on a log, and on his information the murderers were arrested, tried, and sentenced.

Now it is evident that these four men could not possibly have formed part of any of the crews of Wood's ships. The latter captured (as far as we know) only two Portuguese vessels, bound from Goa to Bengal to load rice. Moreover, we have seen that the last of the three ships

[1] I cannot identify this island, described as being three leagues from Puerto Rico. It can scarcely be Mona (see footnote, *infra*).

foundered in the Bay of Bengal: any survivors, therefore, could scarcely be heard of next in an island off Puerto Rico. But all the details given in this letter prove beyond a doubt that the four Englishmen were some of Lancaster's crew. The narratives of the voyage of the *Edward Bonaventure* describe the capture and looting of two out of three Portuguese ships encountered by her, bound from India for Malacca (the "Castle Frontire" referred to above), one of which was from Goa;[1] and also mention the frightful ravages of disease among the ship's company; while Edmund Barker, one of the narrators, after chronicling the stay of the two French ships, in which were the remnant of Lancaster's company, off San Domingo from February to April, 1594, says:—"In this, meane while, there came a shippe of Newhaven to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our seuen men, which wee left behinde vs at the Isle of Mona,[2] which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules vpon the cliffes; other three were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, vpon knowledge given by our men which went away in the *Edward*; the other two this man of Newhaven had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards bloodie hands." The discrepancies here are not of great importance;[3] and it is curious that Purchas should have so blundered respecting the identity of the men, and thus misled all subsequent writers.[4]

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[1] According to Barker, however, she had no real gems on board, but only "false and counterfeit stones;" nor could the English find any "roials of plate," as they expected (*Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 14).

[2] Mona is a small island between Puerto Rico and San Domingo.

[3] It will be noticed that Barker does not account for Thomas: perhaps he was one of the two reported to have broken their necks while bird-catching. No dates are given in Alcasar de Villa Señor's letter in connection with the incidents he mentions: but it is clear that they were spread over several years.

[4] One of the latest being Sir Wm. Hunter (see his *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 234). It is not surprising that Thomas Astley,

We must now return to the year 1598. On January 13th of that year, as we have seen (*supra*, p. xxxvii), King Philip II wrote to the Viceroy of India that he had advice "that this year are being got ready many ships of the said Hollanders for the purpose of again making that journey" (to Sumatra and Java). This was literally true; and it is to these fleets that we now turn our attention.

The first Dutch ships to leave for the East in 1598 were two, the *Leeuw* and *Leeuwin* (*Lion* and *Lioness*), under the command of the famous (or notorious[1]) Cornelis de Houtman, the chief pilot being the Englishman John Davis, to whose pen we are indebted for the only existing detailed account[2] of the expedition, which cost the lives of the commander and others of the company. These ships sailed from Flushing on March 15th, 1598, and on June 21st, 1599, arrived at Achin, the *entrepôt* of the pepper trade in the Malay Archipelago. This was the first time that European ships other than Portuguese had put into this port, and this first attempt to break the Portuguese monopoly ended disastrously.

We have noted above (pp. xxxviii) how important the King considered it was for the Portuguese to keep on good terms with the king of Achin. The effects of this policy

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who gives an abstract of the letter in his *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (vol. i, pp. 252-254), describes it as "very tedious, and scarce intelligible," and adds: "The Letter, however, gives no light into the Voyage itself, nor by what Accident the Ships, which set out for the *East Indies*, came into the *West Indies*; nor what became of them; nor the Nature of the Sickness which reduced the Men to four."

[1] He was suspected of having, on his previous voyage, poisoned Moelenaer, the skipper of the *Mauritius*, with whom he was on bad terms, and was actually put in irons for three days, being then released for want of proof (see De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 345; also Davis's description of him in the narrative referred to below).

[2] It was first printed in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Pt. I, Bk. III, pp. 116-124; and is reprinted in this Society's *Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator*, pp. 129-156 (see also the Introduction, pp. lxiii-lxix; Markham's *Life of John Davis*, chap. x; and De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 220-230, vol. ii, pp. 210-216).

are seen in the treatment accorded by the Achinese to De Houtman's expedition. In his last *Decada*, Couto gives us the Portuguese version of this affair. In Liv. II, cap. x, we read:—

D. Luiz da Gama having left for Ormuz,[1] the Count proceeded to the dispatching of certain ambassadors who had come to him from the Achem, whom he had received with great honour in a decorated chamber with all the fidalgos and captains that happened to be in Goa at the time, and entertained them right well, ordering them to be provided with everything necessary until it was time for them to return, when he dispatched them with satisfaction. The principal points that they came to treat of are not known to me, as I have not found them in the Secretariat,[2] where it was proper that the record of such a matter should be; but I know that they were satisfied: and the Count Admiral gave orders to embark them in the galleon going to Maluco, the captain of which was Luiz Machado Boto, and commanded them to be very well provided with everything necessary for the voyage: and he sent the Achem a suitable present in return for another that his ambassadors had brought. They set sail on the third of May of this year of 1599; and of their voyage we shall give an account further on.

This promise Couto fulfils in Liv. V, cap. ix (with which this *Decada* abruptly ends), as follows:—

Since we left Luiz Boto Machado [*sic*] departed for Amboina, it is necessary for us to continue with his voyage, as it also falls in the time and government of the Count Admiral, as we have said above.[3] This galleon, with good weather, arrived at the fortress of Malaca, where the ambassadors of the Achem were disembarked, and received with much welcome, because of the

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[1] To enter on the captaincy vacant through the death of D. Antonio de Lima (cf. *supra*, p. l, *n.*).

[2] Couto, as historiographer of India, had the charge of the archives. (He wrote this in 1611.)

[3] In the previous chapter Couto records the arrival at Goa, on October 3rd, 1600, of the *São Francisco*, one of the fleet by which the new Viceroy, Aires de Saldanha, was coming (cf. *supra*, p. xl, *n.*); and also the dispatch by D. Francisco da Gama of various fleets. He then adds: "The successes of these fleets, which the Count sent off, are left for the time of Ayres de Saldanha, in which they took place. But before we finish with the Count Admiral, we shall give an account of what happened to the three galleons that in his time he sent to Maluco, because it is also an expedition of his." The three galleons spoken of were those dispatched in May, 1600, as mentioned below.

favourable dismissal given to them by the Count, since all was redounding in peace and quiet for that fortress with that neighbour, which had always been the one that was feared most of all.[1] Wherefore the captain, who at that time was Fernão de Albuquerque,[2] ordered them at once to be embarked in a very fine galliot, and entrusted the ambassadors to Affonso Vicente, a *casado*[3] of Malaca, whom he chose as ambassador to send to that king, to hand over to him his people, and to transact affairs of importance: this Affonso Vicente was known to that king, and with him went Fr. Amaro, a monk of the order of the Father Saint Augustine, because he was versed in the language, and of good parts, and capable of transacting affairs of such importance. This galliot found at the bar of Achem two Dutch ships[4] of the company of those which I have already mentioned as having fought with the ships of D. Jeronymo Coutinho at the island of Santa Helena,[5] which were there taking in cargo, which was supplied to them with great readiness, on account of the liberality with which they paid for everything. The galliot entered the bar, and our ambassador disembarked hand in hand with the ambassadors of the Achem, and accompanied by the Portuguese and by many persons whom the king sent to receive them, and they had an audience of him, who received our envoys with many honours, and his own according to their custom. And having received from his ambassadors an account of their embassy, and of the good dispatch that the Count Viceroy had given them, and of the honours that he had done to them, and the present that he

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[1] In his previous Decades, Couto describes the frequent engagements between the Portuguese and Achinese. Fulke Greville, in his letter of March 10th, 1600, to Sir Francis Walsingham (quoted in Bruce's *Annals*, vol. i, pp. 121-126) says:—"The iland of Sumatra, or Taprobuna, is possessed by many kynges, enemies to the Portugals; the cheif is the Kinge of Dachem, who beseiged them in Malacca, and wth his gallies stopped the passage of victualls and trafficke from China, Japan, and Molucco, till, by a mayne fleete, the coast was cleared [This is a mistake: it was the rája of Johor that blockaded Malacca, as mentioned above, p. vii]. The Kinge of Spaigne, in regarde of the importance of this passage, hath often resolved to conquere Sumatra; but yet nothinge is done." He adds: "The Kinges of Acheyn and Tor are, in lyke sorte, enemies to the Portugals" ("Tor" is a misprint for "Ior"=Johor, and "Acheyn" is, of course, the same as "Dachem").

[2] See *infra*.

[3] See *supra*, p. li, *n*.

[4] Davis says: "Here was also a Portugall, named Don Alfonso Vincent, that came with foure Barkes from Malacca, to prevent our trade, as the sequell doth show" (*Voyages of John Davis*, p. 140). Apparently, therefore, Affonso Vicente arrived at Achin almost simultaneously with the two Dutch ships.

[5] See *infra*, pp. lxix-lxxi.

had sent him, he was so gratified that he knew not what honours and favours to show to our people. Our ambassador, who was a shrewd man, seeing the favours that that king showed towards the Portuguese, and recognising therein the state of mind and inclination to grant him all he might ask of him, being one day alone with the king and the interpreter, said to him, that since he showed such signs of favour to the Portuguese, and knew very well how much they desired to preserve his friendship, that it must always be of greater profit to him, as neighbours, than that of strangers, and that it was time to show it by deeds: that he had to inform him that those corsairs that were at the bar were pirates, and traitors who had risen against their rightful king and lord: that since he professed himself such a servant and friend of the King of Portugal, he had in his hands a very good opportunity for proving this. This was, that as those men were being admitted so freely to him and to his country, he should continue on the same terms with them; and that he should one day invite the captain-major and the chief men of the ships, and that at the banquet they should murder them. And that he should order to be held in readiness the fleet that he had determined to send against the King of Jor, which consisted of more than a hundred vessels, and at the same time attack the ships, and capture them with the whole of the stores and money that they had on board, which was much. And such things did Affonso Vicente say to the king, and so easy did he make the affair for him, that he won him over, and succeeded in gaining what he wished.[1]

For this purpose he at once, with the greatest dissimulation possible, ordered the fleet to be got ready, at the same time spreading about the report that it was to be sent against the king of Jor, for which expedition these same Hollanders had offered their services in exchange for a shipload of pepper, which he had promised therefor.[2] And when all was ready, he invited the Dutch captain-major for the appointed day, from which he ex-

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[1] Davis states, that on the 20th of July "our Baase [*i.e.*, C. de Houtman] beeing with the King was exceeding well entertained," and that, among other things, the king said to him: "I must further tell you, Alfonso hath been earnest with me to betray you, but it shall not be; for I am your friend; and therewith gave him a Purse of Gold" (*op. cit.*, p. 141). The king seems to have played a double part in this tragical affair.

[2] Davis says, that the king's conversation with De Houtman, referred to in the previous footnote, ended thus:—"As touchinge your Merchandize it shall be thus: I have warres with the King of Ior (this Kingdome of Ior is the south-point of Malacca) you shall serve me against him with your ships: your recompence shall be your lading of Pepper; this was agreed" (*op. cit.*, p. 142).

cused himself on account of indisposition, but sent a nephew[1] of his with the most honourable men of his ship. And being drunk at the banquet, the Achens set upon them and murdered them;[2] and at the same time the whole fleet sallied out and attacked the ships with great fury. The Hollanders, seeing this onset, had no other or better remedy than to hoist their sails and make their escape, with the fleet after them until they disappeared,[3] leaving the goods that they had on shore, and two pinnaces that were in different ports, which the king at once ordered to be seized.[4] The Hollanders took their course for the river of Quedá, whither they retired and reformed themselves.[5] And because they had few people left in the ships, since they had lost on shore more than fifty persons,[6] they were obliged to abandon the smaller ship and all get into the other one, in which they set out in the direction of Maçulepatão, and got lost in the *macareo* of Tanaçarim. And thus of these two ships not a single thing escaped.[7]

About the same time that the *Leeuw* and *Leeuwin* left Middelburg for the East, three other Zeeland ships sailed for the same parts. One, however, was lost off Dover;

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[1] This apparently refers to Frederik de Houtman, who was actually the brother of Cornelis.

[2] The affray really took place on board the Dutch ships, the Achinese having drugged the wine. Cornelis de Houtman and others were killed; while of the Dutch on shore at the time only a few were spared and kept as prisoners, among them Frederik de Houtman (see *Voyages of John Davis*, pp. 144-145; De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 214). This occurred on September 1st, 1599.

[3] Davis says that while they were at Pedir seeking one of their pinnaces on September 2nd, "there came eleven Gallies with Portugals (as we thought) to take our ships. We sunke one, and beate the rest: so they fledde" (*op. cit.*, p. 145).

[4] Davis says: "Wee lost two fine Pinnasses of twentie tunnes a piece, and one ship Boate" (*Ibid.*).

[5] Cf. *Voyages of John Davis*, pp. 146, 153.

[6] Davis says: "We lost in this misfortune threescore and eight persons, of which we are not certaine how many are captived: only of eight wee have knowledge" (*op. cit.*, p. 145).

[7] Here Couto seems to confuse the fate of the Dutch ships with that of Wood's two (see *supra*, p. lviii). As a matter of fact, the *Leeuw* and *Leeuwin*, after watering and refreshing at Pulo Butung off Kedah, returned to Achin on October 6th, and fired some shots at one of ten galleys that they found there; on the 18th they sailed for Tenasserim, where they had bad weather, and were distressed for lack of food. Having overcome these difficulties, they reached St. Helena on April 13th (23rd), 1600, and on the 15th (25th) had a fight with a Portuguese caravel, as described in the next extract. The two ships ultimately arrived at Middelburg on July 29th, 1600.

and Co[illegible] of the voyage of the other two we have no detailed ac[illegible]count. Almost all that is known of them is, that they reached Bantam in February and March, 1599, and left there for Europe in November.[1]

On May 1st, 1598, a fleet of eight ships, under the command of Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck and Wybrand van Warwijck, sailed out of the Texel for the East.[2] Three of these arrived at Bantam on November 25th, and the remaining five came there also a month later. On January 11th, 1599, four of the ships, under the command of Van Neck, left Bantam, and, after coasting Sumatra and calling at St. Helena, arrived in the Texel on July 19th, 1599. The other four ships, under Van Warwijck and Jacob van Heemskerk, left Bantam on January 8th, 1599, for the Moluccos, reaching Amboina on March 3rd[3] (having had, on the way thither, a fight with the natives at Arissabaya on the west coast of Madura, losing a number of men by drowning, and having to ransom many prisoners). On the 11th of the same month two of the four ships, under Van Heemskerk, left for Banda, whence, after some months' stay, they sailed on July 5th for Bantam, and thence for home, making a stay at St. Helena from December 8th, 1599, till January 1st, 1600, and reaching

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[1] See De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 216-217, 379, 447; also footnote, *infra*, p. lxxiii. These two ships, the *Langebercque* and the *Zon*, left again for the East in 1601.

[2] Faria y Sousa, in giving a summary account (not very accurate) of this expedition, says :—"Mauricio [*Mauritius*] was the name or title of the admiral's ship: it appears as if by a fatality, with the first two syllables ever grievous to Catholic ears (let severe censors pardon what they may call frivolous considerations), to be second Mauritanians in those climes, like spoilers of the vineyard of Christ, which the efforts of the Portuguese had planted there." He also somewhat broadly insinuates that the Hollanders took out with them the worship of Bacchus (*Asia Portuguesa*, tom. III, Pt. II, cap. iii). (Cf. *Voyages of John Davis*, p. 134.)

[3] See *Voyage of John Saris*, p. xxxiii.

the Texel on May 19th, 1600. The remaining two ships under Van Warwijck left Amboina on May 8th, 1599, for Ternate, arriving there on the 22nd. Leaving some of their company here to transact their business affairs, they left on August 19th, and arrived on November 19th at Bantam, having the day before met and spoken with the two Zeeland ships referred to above (the *Zon* and the *Langebercque*), which had been lying at that place for eight months.[1] On January 21st, 1600, the two ships under Van Warwijck sailed from Bantam, and reached St. Helena on May 17th, but could not land, owing to the presence of a number of Portuguese carracks, so left again on the 22nd, and reached home about September, 1600.[2]

The carracks whose presence at St. Helena prevented Van Warwijck's ships from refreshing there included the one with which the *Leeuw* and *Leeuwin* had had an engagement, as mentioned in the footnote *supra*. Couto, in his *Decada XII*, Liv. IV, cap. xiii, gives the Portuguese version of this affair. He says :—

We seem to have been forgetting the fleet of D. Jeronymo Coutinho, which we left taking in cargo in order to leave for the Kingdom ; wherefore we shall give an account of it, and of what happened to it on the voyage. And because the captain-major D. Jeronymo Coutinho was sailing from Goa, and the other five ships[3] of his fleet were sailing from Cochim, the Count Viceroy ordered the passing of a provision to D. Vasco da Gama, who was going as captain of the ship *S. Mattheus*, that he should fill the office of captain-major of the five ships, and the other captains should obey him until they should meet with D. Jeronymo

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[1] See footnote *infra*, p. lxxiii.

[2] See De Jonge, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-210, 374-474 ; *The Journall or Dayly Register, . . . of the voyage, accomplished by eight shippes of Amsterdam*, etc. (London, 1601).

[3] These five ships were the *São Roque*, the *Conceiçao*, the *N. S. da Paz*, the *São Simão*, and the *São Martinho*, all of which had come from Portugal in 1599 (see *infra*, p. lxxxiii). Faria y Sousa, by a strange blunder, records the dispatch of this fleet by the new Viceroy, Aires de Saldanha, at the beginning of 1601 (*Asia Portuguesa*, tom. III, Pt. II, cap. vi).

Coutinho, who was the captain-major. This fidalgo, who remained loading in Goa, set sail on Christmas Day with a grand send-off given him by the Count, and set off on his course, to whom we shall return presently. The other five ships, which were loading in Cochim, set sail one after another up to the 15th[1] of January, 1600,[2] with which year we are dealing: in such sort, that, as soon as each one was loaded, it at once set out without waiting for the other, and thus went pursuing its voyage with such fair weather, that on the 25th of April the ship of Diogo de Sousa[3] made landfall at the island of Santa Helena: bearing in her company a large caravel, which she had fallen in with[4] in 16 degrees, on its way from the Rio da Prata[5] to Angola; and on going to look for the anchoring-place, which is opposite the Hermitage, they saw lying at anchor two Dutch ships, that had been waiting there five or six days for two others of their company. Diogo de Sousa, who was a fidalgo, and whom they called the Galician,[6] because he came from Viana, as soon as he saw them put his ship in order, and got ready his guns, and cast anchor at a little distance from them, because he was greatly in need of water, and because he knew very well that if they put out to sea the corsairs were sure to come after them and might give them trouble; thus prepared he proceeded to cast anchor with much confidence, having

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[1] Fa. João dos Santos, who went at the request of the retiring Viceroy as chaplain in the *S. Simão*, says that this ship left Cochin on January 19th (*Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. II, Liv. IV, cap. xx).

[2] By one of these ships Diogo de Couto sent to the King his *Decada Sexta*. This had a better fortune than the *Decada Setima*, which the author sent two years later by the *São Tiago*, and which seems to have been destroyed with all other documents by the captain to prevent their falling into the hands of the Dutch, who, at St. Helena, on March 16th, 1602, captured the ship after a severe fight (see Couto's letter prefixed to his *Decada Setima*, which he had to rewrite in summary; Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, tom. III, Pt. II, cap. vi; Valentyn, *Sumatra*, p. 29).

[3] The *São Simão*, in which was Fa. João dos Santos, who gives details of the voyage in his *Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. II, Liv. IV, caps. xx-xxvi. It seems that there was an elephant on board; and the good father naïvely confesses that the sight of the terror inspired in this poor beast by a severe storm that the ship encountered before passing Cape Agulhas added greatly to his own fear. To add to the horrors of this tempest, certain huge fishes of fearful and wonderful mien appeared one night around the ship—fishes such as had never been seen before by the sailors, who were certain therefore that they were devils.

[4] On April 23rd, says Dos Santos.

[5] The River Plate.

[6] The Galicians (*Gallegos*) are still noted for their robustness and activity.

his men under arms and posted in the places most necessary for any eventuality.[1]

As soon as he anchored there came a launch, sent at once from the ships, and lying at a little distance from ours, a man hailed those in the ship, and said in Spanish, that the captain-major of those ships sent word to the captain, asking him to go forthwith to him in his boat, and deliver up the ship to him, that he would deal well with him; otherwise, he would send and fetch him. Diogo de Sousa, as soon as he heard the message, caused a falcon to be levelled at the launch, and gave orders to hail them to come nearer, as they did not understand it; but those in the launch understood the intention of our people, and not wishing to take advantage of their courtesy turned about in great haste, and gave their captain an account of what had passed, and of what they suspected.[2]

As soon as the Dutch captain saw that our ship would not yield, he gave orders to play upon her with his guns with great fury, and they killed two of her men, and cut through the fore-mast, and well nigh unrigged it, and shot through one side of the mainmast with a ball of cast-iron, of which all were made with

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[1] The account that follows of the combat between the Portuguese and Dutch ships agrees so closely with that given by Dos Santos (both being often verbally identical), that it is evident that both must be derived from a common source. (The *Ethiopia Oriental* of Dos Santos was issued in 1609; while Couto's *Decada XII*—unfinished—was first printed only in 1645, though written in 1611, as he states in Liv. III, cap. v, of that Decade). Faria y Sousa, in his *Asia Portuguesa*, tom. III, Pt. II, cap. iii, says: "On his return voyage, Sousa fought singly with two Dutch ships at the island of Santa Elena, until he put them to a shameful flight;" while further on, in cap. vi, he gives a fuller account of the engagement, but erroneously post-dates it a year.

[2] Faria y Sousa (*loc. cit.*) characteristically writes:—"There was at once sent from them to our ships an arrogant message, that they were to surrender immediately, and that the captain was to go and yield obedience to them, if he did not wish to go to the other world in great haste. Sousa saw that the reply that he had to give needed a loud voice, so, keeping his own mouth shut, he caused that of a cannon to be directed at them, that it might reply to them, because it was a mouth with a loud voice. It spoke: and understanding it very well, and having the advantage in points [there is here a play on the word *puntos*, which means both the pips on cards and the sights of guns], they let fly eight balls, which from sheer terror caused all the sailors that were furling the sails on the ship to fall from the yards and rigging. This took place very much as when ripe apples fall from trees shaken by a strong hand. However, if they resembled caduke apples in falling, they resembled balls in rising." (Stevens understands these last words to mean: "they soon recovered themselves," and so renders them.)

which they fired at our ship. The people of our ship seeing that destruction, which had been done in so short a time, were for the most part so terrified, that they betook themselves to the side on which lay the caravel, in order to jump into it, and seek shelter there, because of its being very light. On this Diogo de Sousa hurried up,[1] and made them return once more to the ship, at times uttering abusive words, at others urging them to defend themselves like valiant Portuguese, assuring them that to deal with those ships theirs was enough; and that he trusted in God to conquer them and take them along with them.[2] And so he quickly gave orders to work his guns, with which also he killed many of their men, and caused such havoc, that the Hollanders went hauling on warps until they lay across the bow of our ship, where there were only two pieces of artillery, in order to play on her from there with less risk.

The master of our ship,[3] who was a very sagacious man and of great experience, put an anchor into the boat,[4] and ordered it to be cast into the sea on one side in such manner that it lay near the whip-staff;[5] and fastening it to the capstan, the ship went veering round, and lying with all her guns athwart the other ships. Thus they went on firing for the space of twenty hours,[6] with such great fury and terror, that the rebels, not being able to endure the injuries that they received from our guns, veered away their cables, hoisted their sails, and took to flight well fustigated.[7]

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[1] Dos Santos states that, at the request of Pero Gomez d'Abreu de Lima, he informed Diogo de Sousa of the intention of some of the Portuguese to escape to the caravel, the former not being on speaking terms with the captain.

[2] This differs greatly from the account given by Dos Santos, who says that Diogo de Sousa, after bringing all who were in the caravel on to his ship, made the former sheer off to some distance with a cable attached. He then gave the men white biscuit and wine to refresh and reanimate them.

[3] Antonio Diaz, according to Dos Santos, who describes him in similar laudatory terms.

[4] According to Dos Santos, the Dutch had put an anchor in a launch for the purpose described above; but the anchor here spoken of, he says, was cast into the sea direct from the ship, which seems much more probable.

[5] It was the *cable*, and not the anchor itself, that lay "on the poop near the whip-staff," as Dos Santos correctly says.

[6] "All night, with a beautiful moonlight, until 10 in the morning," says Dos Santos.

[7] Davis's account of this engagement is very terse. He says:—"The thirteenth we anchored at the Ile Saint Helena. . . . The fifteenth, at Sun-set, there came a Caravell into the Road, who anchored a large musket-shot to wind-ward of us. She was utterly

Our people, although shattered and cut up, remained victorious, and disembarked on land, where they found the barrels of the Hollanders that they had left there to be filled with water, which came in handy for them;[1] and in the Hermitage they found[2] a written message that they had left there for two other ships of their company, which had remained in Achem loading, because these came from Sunda, of which we shall presently give an account; and in the writing they gave them to understand, that the Jaos had held them captives for six months until the arrival of two other ships of their company, which had them set at liberty; and the cause of their imprisonment was this.[3] These two ships, which our people found there, had gone to load at Sunda; and all the *patacas*[4] that they carried were falsified, and contained very little silver; and having bought many drugs therewith, the Jaos came to know of the falsity of the money, wherefore they seized all those that they found on shore, and kept them prisoners four or five months, until there arrived two other ships

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unprovided, not having one Peece mounted; we fought her all this night, and gave her, as I thinke, better then two hundred shot. In eight houres shee never made shot nor shew of regard; by midnight shee had placed sixe Peeces which shee used very well, shot us often through, and slew two of our men. So the sixteenth, in the morning, we departed," etc. (*Voyages of John Davis*, p. 156). The difference of dates in the two accounts is due to the fact that the Portuguese observed the New Style, and the Dutch (and English) the Old.

[1] Dos Santos says that they also found two goats, left by the Dutch, tied at the foot of a fig-tree.

[2] This was on the following day, according to Dos Santos, who landed with the captain and others, and conducted service in the Hermitage.

[3] Dos Santos, who gives a similar account of the cause of the imprisonment of the Dutch, says that this information was obtained from the Hollanders who called at St. Helena a few days later. He also states, that on disinterring the sacred vessels that were kept in a secret place there, the Portuguese found the following letter in Spanish, left apparently by some man from one of the Dutch ships:—"Yo Iuan Roberto no haga mal a esta Iglesia, por que soy Christiano, y temo a Dios, que me ha librado de muchos baxos, ado me he visto perdido en esta viage, y ansi mas me ha librado de catiuero de la Iaoa, adò estuue captiuo seis mezes, a punto de me sacaren la vida cada dia" (I, Juan Roberto, have done no harm to this church, because I am a Christian and fear God, who has delivered me from many depths [or shoals?] in which I have found myself lost in this voyage, and has likewise liberated me from captivity in Jaoa, where I was a captive six months, they being ready to take my life every day). Who this man was I have been unable to discover.

[4] Dollars (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*).

of their company, which learnt of the case, and ransomed them by giving the Jaos other good and lawful money.[1]

The Dutch ships having left the island of Santa Helena, our people at once set to work at refitting the ship, the masts, and rigging it anew[2]: and on the 30th of April, five days after the battle, there arrived at that port the ship *Nossa Senhora da Paz*, and on the 3rd of May the *Conceição*, and on the 16th the ship of the captain-major, which, though starting from Goa, and earlier, arrived so much later.[3] And from Diogo de Sousa they learnt the whole of the affair, and helped him to repair the damage that the enemy had done to him. And[4] on the same day that the captain-major anchored appeared the two other Dutch ships[5] that we have said the others were expecting, which came laden with drugs; and coming to make the anchoring-place, when they saw our ships they proceeded to anchor at the point of the island,

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[1] The above rather confused statement is interesting, as it appears to be the only proof we have that the two Zeeland ships, the *Zon* and the *Langebercque*, referred to above (pp. lxvi-lxvii, lxviii), called at St. Helena on their voyage home. In the narrative of the voyages of Van Neck's and Van Warwijck's fleet we are not told of any letters having been left at St. Helena; and therefore we may conclude that the message was left by these two Zeeland ships for their fellow Zeelanders in the *Leeuw* and *Leeuwin*, who evidently knew nothing of how they had fared in the East. The story about the bad money and the imprisonment seems to be explained by the following details, given in *The Journall, or Dayly Register*, etc. (p. 54):—"The 17. day [of November, 1599] wee sayled thence [the mouth of the 'fresh Ryuer' near 'Saketra,' *i.e.*, Jakatra] towards *Bantam*, where two Dutch ships lay. The 18. day we spoke with them, they were the Long barke [*sic!*] and the Sunne, which had lyne eight moneths and tenne dayes before *Bantam* (and were departed from thence in the night time, not refreshing themselues), where they had so néerely bartered all; that in the ende (for want of money) they trucked also the whistles from about their neckes, and yet had not effected any great matter, for both the ships had but 60. last of Pepper and Cloues together, and farther were weakened 55. men." The next day they arrived at Bantam, were well received, and got full loads of spices." According to a letter of Van Warwijck's (De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 379), the two Zeeland ships sailed on November 18th, 1599, for Europe, while the two ships under Van Warwijck did not leave until January 21st, 1600.

[2] Dos Santos, who gives a number of details of wonderful escapes during the combat, says that when the enemy disappeared, about three in the afternoon, the carpenters and caulkers set to work to repair the damage, the ship having received seven shots between wind and water.

[3] Dos Santos, who also records the arrival of these ships, adds that on May 15th the River Plate ship left St. Helena.

[4] What follows is almost identical with the account given by Dos Santos.

[5] The *Amsterdam* and *Utrecht*, under Van Warwijck.

where our people could do them no harm, because of the wind's being contrary for going against them. D. Jeronymo Coutinho paid little heed to them, but nevertheless made ready, in order, if the weather should give him the opportunity, to go and attack them. And on the same day, just at nightfall, the ship *S. Martinho*, the captain of which was João Soares Henriques, made landfall at that island, and discovering the Dutch ships, supposing them to be ours,[1] put out again to sea, and set her course by Brazil, where she watered and took in provisions in the Bay of All Saints.

The Dutch captain, seeing that there was no water in that part where he was, sent off a launch with a letter to D. Jeronymo Coutinho, in which he said to him, that they were Christians, and vassals of a king who was a friend to his; that they were merchants, who were going about the world seeking their living; that they were in want of water, and that he begged him to give them leave to send their launches to get it at the place where he was. D. Jeronymo replied to them, that as they were Christians, and friends of the Portuguese, they should come and anchor near him, and that there they could water just at their will; the which message he sent to them, in order to see if he could draw them out of that quarter, whither he was unable to go and seek them. The Hollanders perceiving the design of the captain-major would not take advantage of his courtesy, but continued to lie there five days longer; at the end of which time, which was the 21st of May, there arrived at that island the ship *S. Mattheus*, on which was D. Vasco da Gama, who by means of bombard shots forced the two Dutch ships to weigh anchor; and one night they set sail,[2] and must have had to go to the coast of Guinea to get water, of which they were in want.[3] Then the captain-major

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[1] This is put confusedly. What Couto meant was, that the captain at first took the ships to be Portuguese, but afterwards discovered his mistake. Dos Santos says that the captain, on finding that these two ships were Dutch, when in the dusk he caught sight of the Portuguese ships, thought that they were also some of the enemy's vessels.

[2] Dos Santos says nothing of a bombardment of the Dutch ships by the *S. Matheus* (which, in fact, seems to have arrived after they had gone): he simply states that they set sail, firing off many rockets and with much demonstration.

[3] The Dutch account of this affair is as follows: "The sixteenth day [of May] about noone wee had sight of the Island of S. *Helena*, wherewith wee were all greatly comforted. The 17. day in the morning we had sight of a Carrack néere vnto the land, being the Admirall of the Portugals Fléete, sayling into the Roade of S. *Helena*, where lay at anchor thrée other Carracks, whereby wee were forced to put into the old Roade, which is the first valley that you come vnto after you are passed the north west corner, or necke of the land, and the Roade where the Carracks lay is the third valley beyond the

caused D. Vasco da Gama to be supplied with water, and with all the ships under his charge set sail,[1] to see if he could overtake the two ships of the rebels; but he was unable to catch up with them, through their having gone far out of their course, and ours arrived together at the Kingdom,[2] which was a great piece of good fortune. And this fidalgo was always thus venturesome and fortunate in the voyages that he made, arriving in India and returning to Portugal with all his ships in safety.[3]

Besides sending all the above-mentioned ships to the East round the Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch, in the

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sayd necke of the land, so that we lay within Sakar or Minion shot of each other: wee sent vnto them foure men to parley with them, but I cannot write what communication passed. The same euening came another Carrack making towards the Roade, sailing about the north west necke hard vnder the shore, insomuch that she came so néere vnto vs, that they haled vs, and demaunded of whence wee were: and vnderstanding that we were Hollanders, séeking to refresh our selues in that place, (refusing the land) they cast about, and directed their course Northwest to seaward. The 18. day foure of our men went vp into the land at S. *Helena*, it is a very high hillie land, beautified and enriched with very faire and pleasant valleys, with great abundance of Goates, and some store of Swine: wee meant to prouide our selues there of fresh water, but the Portugales would not suffer vs, so that we were without hope to make any prouision of water at this place: for they had ordained a strong watch on the shore, which was the onely cause that wee could not here refresh our selues. The 21. being *Ascention* day, wee sailed thence (with God his helpe) homewards, and being vnder saile, wée descried another Carrack making towards the Roade, which was the sixt Carrack that we had now seene, wée directed our course north-west and by west" (*The Journall, or Dayly Register*, etc., p. 57). The ships did not go to Guinea, as surmised by the Portuguese, but to Ascension, where, however, they found no water, so that, by the time they reached home, their sufferings had become terrible.

[1] On June 1st, after a solemn service had been held on shore, says Dos Santos.

[2] On August 22nd, 1600, they anchored at Cascaes, and on the 24th reached Lisbon, says Dos Santos, who gives details of the voyage.

[3] This is hardly correct. In 1586 D. Jeronimo Coutinho took charge of a fleet of five ships for India, four of which reached there safely (see *supra*, pp. iii-iv), and returned to Portugal next year; but the fifth, the *S. Filippe*, got only as far as Mozambique, whence she returned for Portugal, but was captured by Drake off the Azores. In 1599, D. Jeronimo took four ships out to India, and in 1600 brought five safely home (as stated above). In 1607 he took out five ships to India, two of which returned to Portugal next year, while one was burnt by the Dutch off Goa, and another was burnt at Mozambique on the way home.

same year, 1598, dispatched two fleets thither by the south-western route. The first of these consisted of five ships, under the command of Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes, the pilot of one being the Englishman, William Adams.[1] Except that it led to the opening up of Japan to Dutch trade, this expedition, which left Rotterdam on June 27th, 1598, resulted in utter disaster. Details of the voyage have been given by various writers;[2] and I therefore confine myself to quoting what Couto (*Dec. XII*, Liv. V, cap. ii) says[3] on the subject:—

In this year 1600, of which we are treating, about this same time there arrived[4] a Dutch ship[5] at the Islands of Japão, at the port of Xativai[6] in the kingdom of Bungo; and as at that time it was not the monsoon for ships to come from China, nor from the Filippinas, it appeared to the fathers of the Company, who reside there, that it might be some ship going from New Spain to the Lusões, that through some storm had been driven out of her course. They sent word to the king of Bungo, in order that he might send help, lest some disaster should befall her; which he at once did. And at this same time two fathers of the Company who resided near Xativai, seeing the ship, went with some boats to assist her; and coming near to her, and discovering her to be Dutch, they turned back again. Some Portuguese that were in Naganzaque, as soon as they heard of the ship, sent advice by letters to Tirazava, governor-general of those realms on the western side, of how that ship was one of Lutheran corsairs, enemies of the Portuguese and

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[1] For his history, see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] See De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 218-222; O. Nachod's *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan*, p. 93 *et seq.*; Purchas, vol. i, Bk. II, pp. 73, 78-79; Rundall's *Memorials of the Empire of Japon* (Hakluyt Soc.), pp. 18-24, 33-39; Satow's *Voyage of Captain John Saris* (Hakluyt Soc.), Introduction, pp. xlvii-xlviii; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. i, p. 104.

[3] The following details given by the great historian of Portuguese India seem to have been overlooked by all writers on the dawn of Dutch and English commerce in Japan. Couto, who wrote this Decade in 1611 (the date of Adams's first letter), appears to have obtained his information from the Jesuit fathers.

[4] On April 19th, 1600.

[5] The *Liefde*.

[6] According to Sir E. M. Satow (*op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xlviii), "she anchored about a league off the capital of Bungo, now called Oita, in Beppu Bay, North latitude 33° 15'."

of all Christians.[1] On receiving this message, and having already had letters from the king, Tirazava hastened to the kingdom of Bungo, and ordered the ship to be brought into port,[2] and laid hold of the Hollanders, and their goods, of which an inventory was made, and what was found therein was the following:[3]

Eleven great chests of coarse woollen cloths, a box with four hundred branches of coral and as many of amber, a great chest of glass beads of divers colours, some mirrors and spectacles, many children's pipes, two thousand *cruzados* in *reals*, nineteen large bronze pieces of ordnance and other small ones, five hundred muskets, and five thousand balls of cast-iron, three hundred chain-shot, fifty *quintals* of powder, three great chests of coats of mail, three-fourths having breastplates and pectorals of steel, three hundred and fifty-five darts, a great quantity of nails, iron, hammers, scythes and mattocks, and other various kinds of implements, with which it would seem they were coming to conquer and inhabit. They confessed that in the past years of 1598 and 1599 there set out from the States of Holland fifteen ships to go to Sunda and Maluco, regarding which they gave no satisfactory account whatever; and in order that something may be known of them, we shall give an account of those of which we have learnt, and of what happened to them.

In the year that we have mentioned[4] there left Rotterdam these fifteen ships,[5] which kept together as far as the coast of Guinea, where they divided into three squadrons. One of these soon passed the Cape of Good Hope, and took its course for Sunda, where three ships separated themselves, and the other two proceeded to put into the port of Achem, of whom I shall have more to say presently.[6] To the other squadron we have not learnt what happened. The third, the captain of which was one Balthazar da Corda,[7] went privateering for some time on the coast

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[1] Cf. what Adams says in his letters (Rundall's *Memorials of the Empire of Japon*, pp. 23, 25, 38).

[2] At Sakai, according to Satow, *loc. cit.* (see also footnote *infra*, and Rundall's *Memorials of the Empire of Japon*, p. 27).

[3] Couto here apparently quotes from an official document sent to Goa by the Portuguese in Japan. Compare this list with that given by Fernão Guerreiro in the footnote *infra*.

[4] The years 1598 and 1599 had been mentioned; but it is evident that now Couto is speaking of 1598 only.

[5] The "fifteen ships" are apparently the eight of C. van Neck, the two of C. de Houtman, and the five of J. Mahu; but it will be seen that Couto's account is, as regards some of them, very confused and inaccurate.

[6] See *supra*, pp. lxiv-lxvi.

[7] The actual commander was Jacques Mahu, on whose death Simon de Cordes assumed command. Balthazar de Cordes, whose relationship to Simon I cannot discover, was, after the death of Juriaan Boekhout, appointed captain of the *Trouw*.

of Brazil, and thence crossed over to Angola, where it did some damage, and then they turned about in the direction of the Strait of Magalhães, which they entered, and in which they were detained ten months with many troubles and starvings, and in some sallies that they made to seek water and provisions they had several men killed ;[1] and as soon as the weather served they passed through the Straits to the other side, and turned towards the coast of Perú,[2] where a storm struck them, so fierce, that it separated them,[3] and one went running at hazard to make for the Islands of Maluco, where she arrived, and a little further on we shall give an account of her ;[4] the other seems to have disappeared, for I have found no tidings of her ;[5] the other, the captain of which was a certain da Corda, nephew of the captain-major Balthazar da Corda, went running before the storm along the coast, and on its growing calm he proceeded to put in at the fortress of Chile, in Perú. And learning that it was almost without men, they made a sudden attack upon it, and entered it, putting to death some of those that were within, and plundered and profaned the temples and all that was in the fortress, remaining there for several days as much at their ease as if they were in Flanders.

These tidings having come to the Spaniards that were in the interior, they collected several companies, and attacking the fortress entered it, there being no more than twenty Flemings therein ; and of these they killed fifteen, while the other five leapt down over the walls, and swam out to reach the ship, and those on the ship came to meet them with a boat, and rescued them, among these five being Captain Corda. And setting sail they went to seek Maluco,[6] where they arrived, and cast anchor at the

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[1] Cf. Purchas, *loc. cit.* ; Rundall's *Memorials*, etc., pp. 18-20, 33-35.

[2] For our knowledge of the doings of the four ships that passed the Magellan Straits we are almost entirely dependent on what Adams says in his two letters of 1611. De Jonge (*loc. cit.*) mentions two unpublished documents in the Hague archives relating to two of the ships.

[3] Cf. Rundall's *Memorials*, pp. 20, 35.

[4] This was the *Trouw* (see *infra*).

[5] Sebald de Weerd's ship, the *Geloof*, returned home from the Straits of Magellan : of this fact Couto was evidently ignorant.

[6] Couto may possibly be here confusing several of the ships. The *Blyde Boodschap* was seized by the Spaniards at Valparaiso, while Simon de Cordes and others of the *Hoop* were killed on shore at the island of Mocha (see Rundall's *Memorials*, etc., pp. 20-22, 35-36 ; Purchas, vol. i, Bk. i, p. 74). The *Hoop* and *Liefde* then set their course for Japan, but were separated by a storm, and the former was never heard of again. The *Trouw*, after capturing and plundering several Spanish ships, and taking possession temporarily of the island

village of Soli in the island of Tidore, half a league from our fortress, there being already at Ternate another ship of this company[1]; the missing one was this ship which we have found in Japão, which went running before the storm, whithersoever she was able, and had such changeable weather, that she spent four months in reaching the Tropic of Capricorn, where she was visited by an outbreak of disease so contagious, that in a few days there died a hundred and fifty and five persons, among whom was Captain Corda,[2] there remaining alive but five and twenty,[3] who were not sufficient to manage the ship; wherefore they let themselves go at the hazard of the winds, until these and the tides brought them to Japão, as we have said, where they disembarked, all so enfeebled, that they looked like dead men.

That king, after he had ordered the ship to be emptied, sent her to the kingdoms of Canto[4] to load timber; and the Hollanders that were most in health he sent to serve as bombardiers in a war that he ordered to be undertaken against a rebel lord who was called Cangeatica.[5] The pilot of this ship was an English-

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of Chiloe (which is evidently what Couto refers to), set sail for the Moluccas, and was, naturally enough, made a prize of by the Spaniards at Tidore.

[1] This is an error. The first Dutch ships to call at Ternate were the *Amsterdam* and *Utrecht* under Van Warwijck, which, however, left the island before the *Trouw* arrived there. The first news the Dutch had of the fate of this vessel was on the visit of Jacob van Neck in June, 1601 (see De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 242, 279).

[2] Another error. Simon de Cordes had been killed, as stated in the footnote *supra*.

[3] Cf. Rundall's *Memorials*, etc., pp. 23, 38.

[4] The Kuwantó, in which Yedo (Tokyo) is situated (cf. p. 11, *n.*, *infra*; and see Rundall's *Memorials of the Empire of Japon*, p. 27; Adams's *History of Japan*, vol. i, p. 19, and note).

[5] Fernão Guerreiro, in his *Relaçam Annual*, etc., tom i, in cap. xxi of the *Cousas do Japaõ*, which treats of the work of the Jesuits in Bungo, says:—"At a port of this kingdom there put in this year a ship of Hollanders, which it was said had two years before left Holland in company with other four, the which passing through the Strait of Magalhais set their course for Sunda, where had arrived other English ships, as they wrote to us from Malaca. These five being separated by a storm, there came to land at this Bungo this ship of which I have spoken much shattered. She brought only five and twenty men alive, and these sick and prostrated by the cold and hunger that they suffered on such a long voyage, of whom two died on arrival. She carried some woollen cloths and scarlets, *raxas* [coarse cloths of little value], mirrors, glass beads, corals, and other curiosities of Flanders; and they had much and large ordnance. The Father, speaking with them, understood that they were heretics. On arriving in port and coming ashore they said that they came to carry on trade in Japaõ, but the Tono soon discovered that they were

man,[1] a good cosmographer, and with some knowledge of astrology: in Meaco[2] he confessed to the fathers of the Company that the Prince of Orange had already made use of him several times in journeys of great importance, principally in the years 1593, 1594, and 1595,[3] when he sent him to discover a way above Biarmia and Fimmarchia,[4] for his ships to pass to Japão, China, and Maluco, in order to bring thence the riches of all those islands, because that by that way they would have the shortest route and the freest from our fleet: and that on the last occasion, which was in the year 1595, he reached 82 degrees north;[5] and that, in spite of its being the height of summer, and the days almost continuous, there being no night, unless it were of two hours, he found the cold so excessive, and the masses of ice and snow so great that broke up in the lower part of that strait, that, driving in the teeth of the ship, they forced her to turn back.[6] And he affirmed, that if one coasted along the coast of Tartary on the right-hand, and if

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going to another part, and that they came to Japaõ only through the storm, since they did not carry goods in such quantity or of the same quality as brought by the other ships that came to Japaõ, nor did they come well dressed, and splendid with the pomp of servants and attendants, as the other merchants were accustomed to come, but only as soldiers and sailors, and beside this with much ordnance and arms: by all of which they were known to be people not of good title; and Dayfuçama, having been advised to this effect, at once sent a captain of his to Bungo to have the ship brought to Meaco or to Sacay, where he took possession of her as a wreck, according to the laws of Japaõ, and sent her to a port of his kingdoms of Quantò, with the Hollanders that came in her, and eighteen or twenty pieces of ordnance; and all the rest that she carried he retained, the greater part of which was arms and a large quantity of powder." In caps. xxviii-xxxiii is given an account of the war referred to above by Couto, the rebel lord being called "Camzuedono" (cf. Adams's *History of Japan*, vol. i, p. 66; Morga's *Philippine Islands*, p. 143 *et seq.*).

[1] William Adams (cf. *Voyage of Saris*, p. 80).

[2] Kyoto.

[3] Either the Jesuit fathers misunderstood Adams, or Couto has erred. The expeditions referred to are those of Barents in 1594, 1595, and 1596; and there is no evidence that Adams took any part in any of these (see *The Three Voyages of William Barents*, etc., second edition; also Rundall's *Voyages towards the N. W.*, p. xii).

[4] What "Biarmia" represents I do not know, unless it be Bergen. "Fimmarchia" is Finmark, in the extreme north of Norway.

[5] This refers to the discovery and circumnavigation of Spitzbergen by Barents, who, however, did not get so far north as 82° (see *The Three Voyages of William Barents*, pp. cxxx, 77; and cf. the map prefixed, the gradation of which is incorrect).

[6] Cf. *The Three Voyages of William Barents*, p. 109 *et seq.*

along it one went running eastward as far as the Gulf of Anião,[1] which enters between the lands of Asia and America, he could accomplish his purpose. And this pilot also affirmed that the Hollanders would not desist until they had carried this enterprise to a conclusion, because of the great desires that they had to discover this road.[2] And the English had already tried to discover this voyage by way of the west, between the islands of Grotlandia[3] and the land of Lavrador; but that owing to the same difficulties they turned back on the way, as did that great pilot Gavoto,[4] more than forty years ago. And in a globe that this pilot possessed, from which there was drawn in China another that I have in my possession,[5] are clearly seen these two ports, the route by which they attempted to pass to them, and, placed in gradation, this island of Japão, with all its kingdoms, as far as the country of Chincungu, where, they allege, are those rich silver mines.[6] This pilot also said, that when the Prince of Orange saw that he could not carry out his purpose in those parts, he equipped these fifteen vessels, in charge of which he came, to go to Sunda and Maluco to load drugs.[7]

At this same time that this ship arrived at Japão, there set out from that island sixteen ships of corsairs to rob; these came as far as the Philippine Islands, and on the way captured a ship of Chins, who were going to those parts with goods amounting to sixty thousand *pesos*: and they also captured another boat from the Manilhas, and killed and captivated several natives thereof and three Spanish soldiers, of which the governor of Manilha sent to complain to Daifuxama, king of Canthem, who at once ordered

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[1] The modern Bering Strait. In the curious map prefixed to, *The Three Voyages of William Barents* it is entered as "Estrecho de Anian" (see also p. 149, and note).

[2] The success of Houtman's voyage by the Cape of Good Hope in 1595-97 caused the abandonment of any further attempt at finding a north-east passage to the Far East.

[3] Greenland.

[4] John or Sebastian Cabot; but their attempts were made much more than forty years before Couto wrote; he refers apparently to Frobisher's voyages.

[5] I have found no other reference to this map.

[6] Cf. Linschoten's Map of the Eastern Seas, in the *Voyage of Capt. John Saris* (p. 191), where "Minas de prata" is inscribed opposite the north-western part of Japan. Couto, in his description of Japan (*Dec. V*, Liv. VIII, cap. xii), names "Chicungo" as one of the governorships of Bungo. Probably the mines of Iwami are meant, there being none, apparently, in Chikugo (cf. Morga's *Philippine Islands*, p. 147).

[7] The wording of this is very confused. Of course the Prince of Orange did not equip any of the ships, and Adams was pilot of only one ship.

several vessels to be armed against these corsairs, and encountering they attacked each other; and they captured one of their vessels, in which they found some of those Hollanders that were in the ship. And afterwards, from time to time, Daifuxama got hold of many of these corsairs, all of whom he ordered to be hanged; and he made a law that not more than four vessels each year should go to the Manilhas, and all the rest should be destroyed and their owners crucified.[1]

The second fleet dispatched by the Netherlanders in 1598 for the Far East by the south-eastern route consisted of four ships under the command of Olivier van Noort, and sailed on September 13th. An account of this voyage is printed in Purchas (vol. i, Bk. II, pp. 71-78), and a very full summary is given in the Society's translation of Morga's *Philippine Islands*, pp. 173-187. As I have mentioned above (p. xviii), Teixeira, in his voyage from Manila to Acapulco in 1600, by mere chance escaped encountering the two surviving ships of this fleet, which arrived before Manila on November 24th, and on December 14th had a fierce engagement with two Spanish vessels, resulting in the loss of one ship on each side.[2] Thence Van Noort sailed for Borneo, which he reached on December 26th, and left on January 4th, 1601;[3] and after touching at Java he set sail homewards, calling at St. Helena, and reaching Rotterdam on August 26th, 1601. He was the first Netherlander that circumnavigated the globe.

While the Dutch had been sending all these ships to the East in 1598, the Portuguese had been unable to dispatch a single vessel from Lisbon, the fleet of five ships that had been equipped for India having had to remain in

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[1] Cf. Morga's *Philippine Islands*, p. 148.

[2] See Morga's *Philippine Islands*, pp. 166 ff, 184 ff.

[3] On this day Van Noort captured a junk from Japan, and learnt from the captain, a Portuguese of Nagasaki, of the arrival at Japan of a Dutch ship (see Purchas, vol. i, Bk. II, p. 77). This was the first news the Dutch had of the fate of the *Lie'de*.

the Tagus, owing to the presence of an English fleet off the mouth of the river.[1] However, in 1599, they were more fortunate. Couto (*Decada XII*, Liv. III, cap. x), says:—

On account of the news that was received in Portugal, that ten[2] ships were being got ready in Holland to go out to those parts of India, as they did, of which we shall treat more fully in its proper place,[3] the Council gave orders to send thither this year a good fleet, which consisted of seven ships, of which they elected as captain-major D. Jeronymo Coutinho.[4] And when it was the beginning of February, 1599, the captain-major set sail with four ships, because all could not be got ready to leave at the same time. In the ship *S. Roque* embarked the captain-major; Diogo de Sousa, who was here[5] called the Galician,[6] went in the ship *S. Simão*; Sebastião da Costa in the *Conceição*; and João Pais Freire in the ship *Paz*. With the captain-major embarked João Rodrigues de Torres, who was to fill the office of *veador da fazenda* at Goa, on whom the King bestowed many honours and favours in connection therewith.[7] Soon after the departure of this fleet,[8] in the March following of 1599 there set sail the other three ships of the company of D. Jeronymo Coutinho. There went as captain-major of these three ships Simão de Mendoça, a fidalgo, married in India, who embarked in the ship *Castello*. In the other two went João Soares Anriques in the *S. Martinho*, and in the ship *S. Mattheus* Gaspar Tenreiro, who was promised the succession of the fortress of Mascate. These three ships were to remain in India.[9] These two fleets united at Moçambique, and all these ships anchored together at the bar of Goa, except the ship *Castello*, which was lost on the Çofalla bank near Quilimane, in front of the river Licumbo, sixty leagues from

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[1] See footnotes on pp. xl, xli, *supra*.

[2] As a matter of fact, only seven ships left Holland for the East in 1599 (see *infra*).

[3] As Couto never completed this Decade, this promise was unfulfilled.

[4] Cf. pp. xli, *n.*, lxviii, *n.*, *supra*.

[5] That is, in India.

[6] See *supra*, p. lxix.

[7] Writing to the King at the end of 1603, the Goa Chamber complain that this man was leaving for Portugal owing them 2,500 *xerafins*, and setting at defiance a warrant that had been served on him; wherefore they had sent instructions to have him arrested on landing at Lisbon (*Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. i, Pt. II, pp. 124-125).

[8] These four ships and the *S. Matheus* formed the fleet of 1598.

[9] The two that reached India returned next year with the others, as we have seen above.

Moçambique.[1] After Simão de Mendoça, who was the captain, had got on shore with all the people, he and many others died.

By this fleet there came news to the Count Viceroy of the death of his son D. Vasco, which he felt much, having no other. There also came news of the death of the King D. Filippe the Prudent,[2] whose exequies the Count Admiral celebrated with great ostentation and ceremonies.[3]

Of the Dutch ships referred to above by Couto as being got ready to go to the East, the first to sail were three under the command of Steven van der Hagen. This fleet left Holland on April 26th, 1599, stayed a couple of months at Mauritius, and reached Bantam on March 13th, 1600. The ships then proceeded to Amboina and Banda,[4] where they had encounters with the Portuguese and trouble with the natives, and returned on November 19th to Bantam. Here they found six other Dutch ships, with four of which they sailed on January 14th, 1601, calling at St. Helena, and reaching home in July, 1601.[5]

On December 21st, 1599, another fleet of four ships, under the command of Pieter Both,[6] of Amersfoort, sailed from Holland for the East.[7] On April 26th, 1600, the fleet divided, two of the ships under Van Caerden calling at Madagascar and passing through the Maldives, and reaching Bantam on August 6th, the other two vessels arriving soon afterwards. These two ships, under Paulus van Caerden, were sent by Both to load pepper at Priaman, whence they proceeded to other ports in Sumatra, reaching

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[1] Figuereido Falcão (*Livro em que se contem toda fa azenda*, etc., p. 183) says that the *Castello* was lost at Socotra.

[2] On September 13th, 1598 (see note on p. xli, *supra*).

[3] Cf. letter of 1599 of Goa Chamber to the King, in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. i, Pt. II, pp. 61-62.

[4] Cf. *Voyage of Capt. John Saris*, p. xxxiii.

[5] See De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 226-229.

[6] Afterwards Governor-General of Netherlands India.

[7] See De Jonge, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 229-235.

Achin on November 21st, and learning from some of the captive Hollanders there the details of the attack on the *Leeuw* and *Leeuwin*. Finding the Achinese monarch very unfriendly, Van Caerden, after various acts of piracy,[1] left again for Bantam, arriving there on March 19th, 1601, and finding that Both had sailed homewards in December or January, in charge of seven ships. On March 29th there arrived at Bantam three ships from Holland, under the command of Jacob van Neck, who, proceeding in one of these to the Moluccas, left the other two at Bantam to return with Van Caerden. The four ships sailed for Europe on April 13th, 1601, calling in September at St. Helena, where they found letters from Both, stating that he had been there in June.

The tidings brought from Malacca to Goa of the continuous arrival in the Malay archipelago of Dutch ships must naturally have caused increasing alarm in that city; but, curiously enough, the Chamber of Goa, in their annual letters of 1599 to 1602 to the King, say nothing on the subject.[2] In spite of the discouraging fiasco in which the dispatch of the fleet under Lourenço de Brito resulted, the Viceroy seems to have sent what reinforcements he could to Malacca. In April, 1598, according to Couto (*Dec. XII*, Liv. I, cap. xvii), he dispatched "João Pinto de Morais in the galleon *S. João*,[3] to go and make the Malaca voyages with many provisions and munitions for it; and therein embarked Ruy Gonsalves de Siqueira, provided with the captaincy of that fortress, D. Julião de Noronha,

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[1] See De Jonge, *u.s.*

[2] The letter of the Goa Chamber to the King, written in 1598, and the royal letters to the Chamber from 1600 to 1609 inclusive, appear to have been lost.

[3] There seems to be some mistake here, as Figueiredo Falcão (*op. cit.*, p. 182) records the return of the *S. João* to Portugal in 1598. (According to him, this ship remained in India in 1600.)

who was there, having completed his time."[1] At the beginning of May, 1600, we also learn from Couto (*Dec. XII*, Liv. IV, cap. xiii), there left Goa "the galleon that was going with the provisions for the fortresses of Amboino and Maluco, as captain of which went Fernão Pereira de Sande.[2] And before this he [the Viceroy] had sent two galliots as reinforcements to Malaca, on account of the news that he had had of Dutch ships; and as captains of these there went Estevão de Albuquerque, a natural son of Fernão de Albuquerque, and Trajano Rodrigues de Castello-branco. The Count Admiral also in this April dispatched Fernão de Albuquerque, to go and enter on the captaincy of Malaca,[3] who went in a ship of his; and in his company went the ships for Malaca, China, and other parts, all of which arrived in safety except only the galleon for Maluco, which was lost, as I shall relate farther on."[4] Again, in Liv. V, cap. viii, of the same Decade, Couto says:—"In the past April the Count Admiral received word from the parts about Malaca that there had come to the coasts of Java those ships from Holland of which we have given an account in the second chapter;[5] and being fearful of the injuries they might cause, both to the commerce of India and to the trade of Portugal, if they should load drugs, as well as by the capture of the ships of our merchants that might be sailing

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[1] Again there is some error: as stated above (pp. 52, 55), Francisco da Silva de Menezes was succeeded at the end of 1597 as captain of Malacca by Martim Affonso de Mello Coutinho. (Valentyn adds to the confusion by stating, in his *Malakka*, p. 328, that the captain in 1598 was "Roch de Mello Pereira.")

[2] He commanded one of the two ships captured by the Dutch at Tidore in 1605 (see Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken*, pp. 213, 214).

[3] He apparently succeeded Martim Affonso de Mello Coutinho, and held the post until September 1st, 1603, when he was replaced by André Furtado de Mendoça (Valentyn, *Malakka*, p. 329).

[4] Death prevented Couto from fulfilling this promise.

[5] See *supra*, p. lxxvii.

for those parts, and above all by the alteration that might take place in the kings neighbouring to our fortress of Malaca; because, as they are Moors, our enemies, and every time that they deserved it the Portuguese smashed their snouts for them,[1] it was certain they would try a change; and the Hollanders, as rebels, would solicit this, being the first to come out to those parts:[2] therefore he resolved to send a fleet of two galleons and three galliots to join there the two that he had sent in the past May,[3] and nominated as captain-major of this fleet Goterre de Monroy de Béja; and with the preparation of this fleet the Count ordered great speed to be made, because it was necessary for it to set sail in September." Accordingly we are told, towards the end of the same chapter, that "with much enthusiasm the fleet for Malaca set sail on the day of S. Jeronymo, which is the last of September, consisting of two galleons, in one of which went the captain-major, and in the other D. Alvaro da Costa, son of D. Francisco da Costa, and three galliots, the captains of which were Pero Fernandes de Carvalho, Filippe de Oliveira, and Maximiliano de Mendoça."

As we have seen above, Pedro Teixeira left Malacca in May, 1600, for the Philippines, in a pinnace dispatched by Martin Affonso de Mello to warn the governor of those islands of the increasing number of Dutch ships that continued to arrive in those waters. In addition to those I have mentioned above, there left Holland, in 1600 and 1601, for the Malay Archipelago, four fleets comprising

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[1] "*Lhes quebráram os focinhos*:" a brutal vulgarity of diction uncommon to Couto.

[2] This is not strictly correct, the English having preceded the Dutch in visiting "those parts"; but the latter were the first to systematise their voyages, and carry them out on a large scale.

[3] See *supra*.

twenty-eight ships:[1] so that in the seven years beginning with 1595, when Cornelis de Houtman made his first voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, no less than sixty-five ships in fifteen fleets had sailed from the Netherlands eastward and westward to Insulindia.[2] With the constitution of the first English East India Company in 1600, and the amalgamation in 1602 of the two Dutch companies into the United East India Company,[3] matters became even worse for the Portuguese; and by the time that Teixeira arrived in India again, at the end of 1603, the position was so critical as to evoke from the Chamber of Goa the following "bitter cry" to the King:—[4]

Although the affairs of the South demanded a full relation, we shall do it very briefly, because they are such that they speak for themselves. It is full of Hollanders, and this year they captured the ship that was making the voyage from Samtomé to Malaca laden, which was worth more than three hundred thousand *cruzados*,[5] and three or four that were going with money to Bengala;[6] and have since captured the most powerful and richest ship that ever left China, which was . . .[7] for this city, and was bringing the means of subsistence of the whole of India, which they went to wait for at the Strait, a little beyond Malaca,[8] where they also captured a junk laden with provisions,

[1] Details of the doings of these ships will be found in the Introduction to the *Voyage of Capt. John Saris*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

[2] See the Table in Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 334.

[3] The attempt of the French, in 1601, to gain a share in the trade of the East ended in disaster (see Introduction to Gray's *Pyrard*).

[4] Annual letter of December, 1603, in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. i, Pt. II, pp. 112-113.

[5] This capture took place in conjunction with Lancaster's ships on October 13th, 1602 (see *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. 91-93; also Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 278). In the Dutch account of Spilbergen's voyage there is a picture of the fight.

[6] In May, 1603, Sebald de Weerd captured four Portuguese vessels, bound from Cochin to Negapatam, off the east coast of Ceylon (see *Orientalist*, vol. iii, pp. 72-73).

[7] *Sic* in orig.

[8] This capture was effected in June, 1603, off Johor, by two Dutch ships under Heemskerk. The chronicler of Spilbergen's voyage, after describing the rich lading, adds: "So that, besides the plundering, she was estimated at over seventy hundred thousand guilders" (*Reyse van Ioris van Spilbergen*, p. 38).

that the city of China[1] was sending to André Furtado for the relief of the fleet. The fortress of Malaca is without provisions, nor can it obtain any, because the Hollanders stopped those that the Jaos were bringing to it, and the city of Malaca wrote to us to supply it with provisions, as they were perishing from famine. The remedy for these things is very far off, because it is in your Majesty, and they call for it very urgently, and may it please God that when He shall see fit to grant it, they will attain it; and let not your Majesty reckon on its being given from here, because the Achem sent ambassadors hither to ask permission for a fortress in his territories, but the State could not grant it, and they returned, and he has sent others to England to the same effect,[2] and he says, that he will give it to the one that goes first; wherefore your Majesty must provide the South from that Kingdom with a suitable fleet, and directed to Malaca, and not to come to India, because however good it be, if it should come here, the needs are so great, that peradventure it would not be able to go thither, and without the South there is no India.

Such was the condition of affairs in the Far East when Pedro Teixeira left India on his land journey homewards at the beginning of 1604.

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[1] Macao.

[2] See *Voyages of Sir Jas. Lancaster*, pp. 85, 95-97; *Letters Received by the East India Company*, etc., vol. i, pp. 1-4; Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 278.

III.

TEIXEIRA'S BOOK.

WE have seen above that Teixeira, while residing in Hormuz, spent a considerable part of his time in the acquisition of the Persian language, and in the translation of the Chronicle of the Kings of Hormuz by Ṭúrán Sháh[1] and (in a very summarized form) of a portion of the voluminous History of Persia by Mír Khwánd.[2] When he returned to Portugal in 1601, our traveller must have brought these translations with him; but worries in connection with business affairs, necessitating his return to India, prevented him from giving the world the benefit of his labours until several years later. But when he had settled down in the (then) Spanish city of Antwerp (some time between 1605 and 1609), he turned his thoughts to

[1] As no copy of this work is known to be now in existence, it seems probable that Teixeira had access to a unique manuscript preserved among the royal archives in the palace at Ṭúránbágh: the same document, no doubt, from which the Dominican monk, Gaspar da Cruz, made his brief abstract a quarter of a century earlier. This precious manuscript evidently perished in the shameful sack of Hormuz after its capture by the combined Persian and English force in 1622. In one of his letters to me, Mr. Sinclair writes:—"Considering the absolute sack of Ormuz only a few years after Teixeira wrote, it is not likely that many MSS. survived of the king's library. He had to leave his palace and take refuge in the fort, and probably saved few books. There is an odd little passage in Pietro Della Valle's xviith letter from Persia, dated 'Gombru,' 29th Nov., 1622, where he mentions that books plundered from Ormuz were sold about Persia with other 'loot' by the returning Persian soldiery, from whom a captive Georgian queen bought a Latin breviary and a Portuguese 'confessionary,' and gave them to Pietro. If the MS. escaped in this way it may yet be in Shiraz or thereabouts, but I think the odds are against it."

[2] The manuscript of this work, Teixeira says, he purchased. Had he been able to buy a copy of the Hormuz Chronicle, it would probably now be in one of the libraries of Europe.

the publication of his works, consisting then of the Chronicle of the Kings of Hormuz and the History of the Kings of Persia to the time of the Arab invasion. He accordingly obtained the necessary licence from the authorities for this purpose; but then, as he tells us in his Preface, yielding to the pressure of friends, he transmuted his *Kings of Persia* from Portuguese into Spanish,[1] and added to it a second book in the same language, bringing the history down to April, 1609.[2] To this he appended his *Kings of Hormuz*,[3] and, finally, an account of his journeys, of which a summary has been given above.

In 1610, Teixeira's work was published, in the form of a small octavo volume, with the following title-page:— "Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira d'el Origen Descendencia y Svccession de los Reyes de Persia, y de Harmuz, y de vn Viage hecho por el mismo Avtor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra. En Amberes En casa de Hieronymo Verdussen.[4] M. DC. X. Con Priuilegio." After the title comes a six-page explanatory note, "*Al Lector.*" Then follow the two books of the *Relacion de los Reyes de Persia* (pp. 1-376), and a *Breve Relacion de los Provincias mas notables y qve mas han dvrado en el sennoria de la*

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[1] I have used the word "transmuted," because Teixeira's Spanish contains a number of Portuguese words. To some of these Mr. Sinclair refers in his footnotes; and others he has noted on the margins of his copy of the *Relaciones*. Instances of these in the *Viage* are *charneca*=in Port. "a dry waste," but in Span. "a pistachio tree"; *abobada*=in Port. "vault"; *vedar*=in Port. "to pay" (with pitch); *carranca*=in Port. "cloudiness"; *negassa* (for *negaça*)=in Port. "decoy."

[2] This date is prefixed to the name of Sháh Abbás at the end of the list of the kings of Persia.

[3] Which, apparently (though Teixeira does not say so), was also turned from Portuguese into Spanish.

[4] Regarding whom, and other members of this famous family of Antwerp booksellers, see F. Olthoff's *De Boekdrukkers . . . in Antwerpen* (Antw., 1891), pp. 102-107.

Persia (pp. 377-384); after which come eight unnumbered pages containing tables of the *Reyes qve sennorearon la Persia hasta la entrada en ella de los Arabes segun Mirkond*. Then comes the *Relacion de los Reyes de Harmuz* (pp. 1-45), followed by the *Relacion del Camino qve hize dende la India hasta Italia* (pp. 47-115),[1] on the verso of the last folio of which is printed the Licence to print. Sixteen unnumbered pages containing the table of contents conclude the volume.[2]

That Teixeira's book met with a favourable reception from the reading public there is no reason to doubt; and later writers on the East, especially on Persia, would naturally quote his work as an authority.[3] Not, however, until long after his death did a translation of Teixeira's book into another tongue appear.[4] This was a small octavo (or duodecimo) volume with the following title-page:—

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[1] Pages 50 and 51, 54 and 55, 58 and 59, and 62 and 63, are misprinted as 36 and 37, 40 and 41, 44 and 45, and 48 and 49; while pages 200 to 215 are misprinted 100 to 115 (p. 207 having a double error as 197).

[2] The printer's errors in which are not more numerous than one might expect in a book of this kind.

[3] I may mention W. Schickard, who in his *Tarich*, etc. (Tubing., 1628), praises Teixeira and draws largely from his work; and J. de Laet, who, in his *Persia*, etc. (Lugd. Bat., 1633), transfers freely from our author, and also (on pp. 296-330) gives a summary of Teixeira's itinerary from Hormuz to Aleppo. According to Tiele (*Mémoire Bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais*, p. 255, *n.*), the account of Persia and Hormuz appended by Commelin to Hendrick Hagenaer's voyages (*Begin ende Voortgang*, etc., 1645, vol. ii) was compiled principally from Teixeira's work. Edmund Castell, the Biblical and Oriental scholar, appears to have utilised Teixeira's book in the compilation of his *Dictionarium Persico-Latinum*, published in 1669 (see Browne's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library*, p. 249).

[4] In tom. ii of the *Universus Terrarum Orbis* of Alph. Lasor a Varea (Raphael Savonarola) there is the following entry: "*Pedro de Veixeira* [*sic*], Relationes . . . &c. Amberes. 1610. in 8. & Italicè. Antu. 1610. in 8." Pinelo (*Bibl. Or.*, tom. i, 269) notes this reference to an Italian translation of Teixeira's work, published at Antwerp in the same year as the original; but I can find no record of it elsewhere, and suspect an error.

"Voyages de Texeira [*sic*], ov l'Histoire des Rois de Perse traduite d'Espagnol en François. . . . . A Paris, Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais, sur le second Perton de la Sainte Chapelle. M. DC. LXXXI. Avec Privilege du Roy." This French version is in two volumes, and gives the whole of Teixeira's work, with the many digressions omitted, and otherwise abbreviated. The translator, as we learn from the dedication to the Duc de Montauzier, was Charles Cotolendi,[1] who begins his preface by the statement that "Texeira [*sic*] est un Autheur si fameux, & si souvent cité, qu'il est connu de tout le monde," and expresses his confidence in our author's judgment. As to his own translation, Cotolendi remarks: "Je l'ay faite le mieux que j'ay pû, sans pourtant trop de scrupule." M. H. Audiffret, writing in the *Biographie Universelle* (tom. xli, p. 207), describes Cotolendi's version[2] as "une assez mauvaise traduction," and adds: "Cette version contient beaucoup plus de fautes que le texte." With this criticism we may leave it.

The only other translation of Teixeira's complete work is that in English by Captain John Stevens, the Spanish scholar and translator.[3] Stevens did not, however, publish a translation of the whole book at one time; but at first only our author's account of his two journeys in 1600-1601 and 1603-1605. This appeared in *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels*, published in London in monthly parts (small quarto), from December, 1708, to some time in 1710 (the whole reissued in two volumes, with new general

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[1] Regarding whom see *Nouv. Biog. Gén.*, tom. xii, p. 114, where the title of this translation is given in a curiously incorrect form.

[2] The date of which is, by a misprint, given as 1621.

[3] For a notice of his literary works (of his life even less is known than of that of Pedro Teixeira), see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. v, p. 231. In the second edition of his *Spanish-English Dictionary* (1726), Stevens occasionally quotes Teixeira as his authority for the use of a word.

title-page, in 1711).[1] This translation of Teixeira's *Viage* should apparently have had a separate title-page; but this is wanting in all the copies I know of.[2] The first page (signature B) has the following heading: "The Travels of Peter Teixeira from India to Italy by Land." The translation occupies pp. 1-81;[3] and then come six unnumbered pages containing the Contents and Index. Stevens's version is a fairly correct one, though here and there he has misunderstood or misinterpreted the original.[4] He has occasionally interpolated in parentheses a remark calling attention to a change of circumstances since Teixeira wrote; and of weights, measures, and coins he generally adds the English values.

Stevens's translation of the rest of Teixeira's work appeared a few years later, in the form of an octavo volume with an engraved frontispiece by Jan Lamsvelt[5] (representing, apparently, scenes in Persian history), and the following lengthy title-page:[6]—"The History of Persia. Containing, The Lives and Memorable Actions of its Kings from the first Erecting of that Monarchy to this Time; an exact Description of all its Dominions; a curious Account of India, China, Tartary, Kermon, Arabia, Nixabur, and the Islands of Ceylon and Timor; as also of

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[1] This edition has a dedicatory letter to the Hon. Edm. Paley, by Stevens, by whom, evidently, all the translations were made. The *Dictionary of National Biography* (*u. s.*) says that the work was "republished in 1719;" but I cannot trace such an edition.

[2] It is possible that one was never printed. Some of the voyages in this collection have title-pages, others none.

[3] Which should be 89, the pages following 80 having been wrongly numbered 73, etc. The page-headings are also very carelessly printed, "Teixeira" appearing in many places as "Teizeira" and "Tiexiera."

[4] Mr. Sinclair gives some instances in his footnotes.

[5] Regarding whom see A. J. van der Aa's *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, deel ii, pp. 94-95.

[6] Which, it will be seen, is rather misleading in its summary of the contents of the volume. I do not know whether the translator or the publisher is responsible for it.

all Cities occasionally mention'd, as Schiras, Samarkand, Bokara, &c. Manners and Customs of those People, Persian Worshippers of Fire; Plants, Beasts, Product, and Trade. With many instructive and pleasant Digressions, being remarkable Stories or Passages, occasionally occurring, as Strange Burials; Burning of the Dead; Liquors of several Countries; Hunting; Fishing; Practice of Physick; famous Physicians in the East; Actions of Tamerlan, &c. To which is Added, An Abridgment of the Lives of the Kings of Harmuz, or Ormuz. The Persian History written in Arabick by Mirkond, a Famous Eastern Author; that of Ormuz, by Torunxa, King of that Island, both of them Translated into Spanish, by Antony [*sic!*] Teixeira, who liv'd several Years in Persia and India; and now render'd into English. By Captain John Stevens.[1] London: Printed for Jonas Brown at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar. MDCCXV." After this come the Preface[2] and Contents (occupying fourteen unnumbered pages); followed by the *History of Persia*, occupying pp. 1-344 (with pp. 305-306 duplicated), and Stevens's Supplement (bringing the history of Persia down to the beginning of the eighteenth century[3]), covering pp. 345-360. Teixeira's *Brief Account of the Provinces of Persia* is given on pp. 361-368, and his chronological table of the sovereigns of Persia on pp. 369-375; whilst his *History of Hormuz* occupies the rest of the volume

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[1] Apparently these words ought to have read "render'd into English by Captain John Stevens;" but the printer, by inserting a full stop after "English," and putting the next four words in large type in a line by themselves, with the translator's name in capitals, has led to this book's being generally (and unwarrantably) referred to as "Stevens's History of Persia."

[2] Reprinted below. It is curious that in it Stevens makes no reference to the fact of his having previously translated and published Teixeira's *Viage*.

Regarding this Supplement, see Stevens's statement in his Preface quoted *infra*.

(pp. 376-416). That there are not a few errors in Stevens's translation cannot be denied (though some are due to misprints[1]), but his language has often a raciness that goes far to compensate for occasional inaccuracies.[2] In the second book of the *History of Persia* Stevens has, by combining two or more of Teixeira's shorter chapters, reduced the number of chapters from fifty-nine to forty-eight. As in his translation of Teixeira's *Viage*, so in this book Stevens has introduced in brackets occasional comments, while in some places he has unwarrantably fathered on Teixeira statements of his own.

As regards the contents of Teixeira's book, these may be classed under four heads :—

(i) His translation (summarized) of Mír Khwánd's history of Persia, though doubtless containing many inaccuracies, was, I believe, the first into a European language, and Teixeira deserves every credit for his attempt to give scholars in Europe the benefit of his researches in this branch of knowledge.

(ii) But it is for his (also summarized) translation of the now lost *Sháhnáma* of Ṭúrán Sháh that Teixeira chiefly

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[1] To this last class may perhaps be referred (p. 92) *semanum* for *sesamum* (as a translation of *gegelin*=jinjili). There are also many misprints in proper names, one of the worst being (p. 180) *Phya* for *Pegu*. In some cases Stevens gets over a difficulty by omitting a word or even a whole passage; for instance (p. 129), the word *meru* =a kind of deer. In one case (p. 93), he boldly invents the word *lake* to translate *laquequa* (=bloodstone), while later on (p. 156) his courage fails him, and he omits the word altogether. In chap. xxii of the first book, Teixeira cites a number of Arabic words naturalised in Portuguese. To each of these Stevens appends a translation; and *tamara* he explains as "a Tamarind" (it really means a *date*). Other errors are pointed out in footnotes further on.

[2] The copy of Stevens's translation belonging to King George III (now in the British Museum Library) has some curious marginal notes and comments (by the royal owner?). For instance, on p. 286, where a certain wazir is described as a "pickthank" (the original Spanish is *enbustero*), the marginal comment is "A droll style for history."

deserves our gratitude; for, though not the first,[1] his was by far the fullest version, and it is the only one now generally available. That it has received the commendation of a scholar like Sir Henry Yule[2] is sufficient proof of its value.[3]

(iii) His narratives of his journeys in 1600-1601 and 1604-1605 prove Teixeira to have been a careful observer; and the second especially contains information of real interest and value.[4]

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[1] Barros appears to have had access to a translation of part, at least, of Túrán Sháh's Chronicle, for in his *Decada Segunda* (which was printed in 1553) he says, when dealing with the history of Hormuz (in Liv. II, cap. ii): "The beginning of this kingdom of Ormuz (*as is recounted in the Chronicles thereof, which were interpreted for us from the Persian*) was after this manner" (then follows a summary account, the main details of which will be found recorded in footnotes to Appendix A, *infra*). The first translation bearing Túrán Sháh's name, however, appeared seventeen years later. It is also in Portuguese, and forms an appendix (of eleven pages) to Fray Gaspar da Cruz's *Tractado . . . da China* (Evora, 1569-70). It bears the following title:—"Relaçam da Cronica dos Reyes Dormuz, ꝛ da fundaçam da cidade Dormuz, tirada de hũa Cronica q̃ cõpos hũ Rey do mesmo Reyno, chamado Pachaturunxa, scripto em Arabigo [*sic*], ꝛ sumariamente traduzida em lingoajem Portugues por hum religioso da ordem de sam Domingos, q̃ na ilha dormuz fundou hũa casa de sua ordem." The "Dominican monk" was, apparently, Gaspar da Cruz himself. Teixeira does not appear to have known of his translation: at any rate, he does not refer to it. An English translation of this summary of Gaspar da Cruz's was found among Hakluyt's papers by Purchas, who printed it (omitting portions) in his *Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, pp. 1785-87. A complete translation is given in Appendix D, *infra*.

[2] See his *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, second edition, pp. 124-126, and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. xvii, pp. 856-858 (art. "Ormus"), where, by a curious error, Yule speaks of "the *Jesuit* Teixeira."

[3] See also the appreciative remarks of Chr. F. Seybold in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth* (Stuttgart, 1893), p. 31 (*Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira*, 1610). On the other hand, the eminent French scholar, Ch. Schefer, in his Introduction to the *Estat de la Perse en 1660* of Raphaël du Mans (Paris, 1890), says (p. lxii):—"L'abrégé de la Chronique de Touran Châh, fait par Teixeira, ne nous offre qu'un récit confus et mal disposé. Il jette peu de lumières sur les événements qui se sont produits dans le golfe Persique jusqu'à la conquête d'Ormuz par Albuquerque."

[4] I cannot endorse the too-sweeping judgment of M. Ch. Schefer, who writes (*u.s.*): "Le Voyage de Teixeira ne présente aucun intérêt, et les noms orientaux qui figurent dans cet ouvrage sont, pour

(iv) In his numerous and sometimes very lengthy[1] digressions throughout the first book of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira has brought together (in a somewhat inconvenient form, it is true) a mass of information, more or less valuable, respecting Asiatic and African topography, ethnology, natural history, pharmacology, etc.—much of it from his personal observation, but a good deal, on the other hand, from mere hearsay.[2]

As Mr. W. F. Sinclair, who undertook the translation and editing of Teixeira's book, has, unfortunately, not lived to complete his task,[3] it may be well here to quote his opinion regarding the author, and the rule observed by him in his translation. Writing to me on January 20th, 1899, Mr. Sinclair says:—

"The view I take of Teixeira is that he was an excellent observer and eye-witness, and is still valuable in that character. I cannot attach much importance, at this day, to what he reports at second-hand, in spite of his own stout confidence in his informants.

"The Voyage is to me, from a 'Hakluytian' point of view, the main part of the book; and I have translated it bodily without omission.

"The 'Kings of Hormuz' represents the lost *Shâhnâma* of 'Torunxá,' and I have therefore translated it bodily, except one silly story of the *mercheta mulierum*, which

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la plupart, transcrits de la façon la plus barbare" (as regards this latter accusation, see Teixeira's own remarks on the subject in his Prefatory Note *infra*, p. cv, and Mr. Sinclair's comment thereon).

[1] In several chapters the digressions occupy six or eight times as much space as the history.

[2] Not a little, also, appears to have been abstracted from the *Colloquios* of Garcia de Orta, whom Teixeira occasionally names, but generally to find fault with.

[3] Mr. Sinclair died on May 15th, 1900. An appreciative obituary notice of him, from the pen of Dr. O. Codrington, appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1900, pp. 610-612.

I am sick of finding continually turn up in all sorts of places.

"The 'Kings of Persia' is of little historical value to a generation that has translations of the *Rauzát-us-Safá*, and is represented, in my MS., only by extracts from Teixeira's digressions, wherever (as I have said) he speaks as an eye-witness, or the passage cannot be separated from such testimony."

Again, on January 23rd, 1899, Mr. Sinclair writes: "I look upon him as an early—or the first—'globe-trotter,' and value him chiefly in that capacity. However, he and his translator Stevens had the honour of a couple of quotations by Gibbon, in the notes to the *Decline and Fall*."

On February 5th, 1899, Mr. Sinclair wrote: "I cannot look upon Teixeira, myself, as a man about whom *μεγα βιβλιον* could be wished for, only as an interesting traveller, and as having had the sense and good fortune to preserve some fragments of the lost *Shâhnáma* of Ormuz."

Then, on May 10th, 1899: "As to matters which he reports on the faith of others, I have not found any reason for repentance of having excluded them from the extracts ('spite of Pedro's protest in their favour, in his preface); but he seems to have been quite as careful and critical as could be expected in his day."

In view of the fact that Mr. Sinclair was not able to make any final revision of his translation and notes, I have altered the former only in a few cases where it was absolutely required, and have left most of the notes intact, putting any additions of my own in brackets.

I feel that an apology is due to scholars for the (I fear) somewhat unscientific spelling of names. I can only plead that my knowledge of Arabic and Persian is of the slightest.

In conclusion, I have to express my thanks to the

gentlemen whose names are mentioned in several footnotes as having furnished me with information; and to Mr. William Foster, the late Secretary of this Society, my special gratitude is due for his careful revision of the proof-sheets, and for many valuable suggestions and contributions to the footnotes.

D. F.

Captain John Stevens's Preface to

his Translation of Pedro[1] Teixeira's "Kings of Persia" and "Kings of Harmuz;"[2] including the Author's Preface to his whole work.

ERSIA is at this time, and has been for several Ages, one of the Great Eastern Monarchies, and yet the Accounts we have hitherto had of it in *English* have been no better than Fragments.[3] Several Travellers have described the Country, and given us the Lives of some of their latter Kings; the *Turkish* History[4] here and there has something of them occasionally; other Books make mention of the Conquests of it by the *Tartars* and the *Sarazens*. A compleat History of that Kingdom from its Foundation to this

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[1] Stevens's title-page says "Antony" by mistake.

[2] Stevens's translation of the *Kings* was printed in London "for Jonas Brown at the *Black Swan* without *Temple-Bar*. MDCCXV." That of the Voyage was a separate publication altogether, and is dealt with in its place. But Stevens's Preface, and his translation of the author's, are here given *verbatim*, as a fair sample of his work.

[3] A list of the various writers on Persia is given in Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question* (London, 1892), vol. I, chap. i, pp. 16-18. —D. F.

[4] Stevens probably refers to Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, first published in 1603, and reissued, with additions, in 1610, 1621, 1631, 1638, 1687, 1700, and 1701.— D. F.

Time has been still wanting, and is what the Publick is here presented with, as a Work doubtless Acceptable to all curious Persons, the *Spanish* from which it is now translated being very scarce, and the *Arabick*[1] from which that was taken very little understood. All Nations have their fabulous Originals, and therefore it is hop'd none will condemn this Work for what may appear Romantick in its remotest Antiquity; for it is but reasonable to allow the *Persians* the same Liberty that we take our selves as to those Primitive Times. Nor are we to conclude that all those Things which may perhaps appear to us incredible are absolutely false, since it is most certain that the *Asiatick* Nations were civiliz'd, and had the use of Letters long before us, and consequently their Histories may with Truth extend much further than ours. The Judicious will not be apt to condemn Things slightly, being sensible that there is nothing perfect in this World, and for those Ages which are most remote from the first Original of that Kingdom, there does not appear to be the least just Cause of Objection against what is here said of them. Not to detain the Reader too long, we shall now give him as much of *Teixeira*'s *Spanish* Preface to his Translation from the *Arabick*, as is proper for the understanding of the Motives that induc'd him to write, and of his Performance. His words are as follows.[2]

Having, in my Youth, been addicted to reading of History, I was often at a stand on Account of the Disagreement that there is

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[1] Stevens repeats this error on the title-page of his book (see *supra*, p. xcv); and, more curiously still, the Dominican translator of Ṭúrán Sháh's *Chronicle of the Kings of Hormuz* commits a similar blunder (see *infra*, p. 256). The mistake is probably due to the fact that, as mentioned by Teixeira in Bk. I, chap. xxii, of his *Kings of Persia* (see *infra*, p. 210), after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, the Arabic characters were substituted for those previously used in writing Persian.—D. F.

[2] The original has the heading "*Al Lector*," and the note is addressed to the "curious reader;" but Stevens, it will be seen, has altered the phraseology throughout.—D. F.

among Authors about the same Things. This I more particularly observ'd in what has been seriously and confusedly transmitted to us in Writing by those who went before us concerning the Kings of *Persia* and their Succession, among which Authors are *Procopius*,[1] *Agathius*,[2] *Genebrardus*,[3] *Zonaras*,[4] *Tornamira*,[5] and several others; whose Relations are so uncertain, that they seldom agree in any Point. I laboured under this Uneasiness for some time, 'till going over to *India*, and the Eastern Parts,[6] and travelling there I came to *Ormuz*, and the Dominions of *Persia*; where the same Curiosity still possessing me, I laid hold of the Opportunity to resolve my Doubts, and to that End, and to discover the true History of those Kings and Antiquities, I began to make Inquiry after them, but found my self more perplex'd than before; for when I asked for *Cyrus*, *Artabanus*, *Ahasuerus*, and others mention'd by our *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, I could hear nothing of them, or their Actions, agreeable to what these have related of them. At length, having acquainted some *Persians*, Men of Knowledge and well read, with my Desire, after much Discourse they advis'd me, since I design'd to know the History of their Kings, to take up with what had been writ of them in their Chronicles, the Authors whereof being nearer at hand, deliver'd their Actions with less Confusion and more Certainty than those of other Nations, who were often mis-led either by Prejudice, or Distance, or both of them. I lik'd the Advice, and in order to make the true use of it, enquir'd and was inform'd, that the History in greatest Reputation among them was one they call *Tarik Mirkond*, that is, *Mirkond's Chronicle*,[7] which I purchas'd, and having perus'd, and finding him very extensive and universal as to the Affairs of *Persia*, I extracted as much as the Publick is here presented with, concerning the Number and Succession of

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[1] *Procopius de Bello Persico*, Romæ, 1509; and *Procopii Caesariensis de rebus Gothorum, Persarum ac Vandalorum libri vii*, etc., Basiliæ, 1531.—D. F.

[2] *Agathyus de Bello Gotthorum et aliis peregrinis historiis*, etc., Romæ, 1516.—D. F.

[3] Gilbert Génébrard: *Chronographia in duos libros distincta*, etc., Parisiis, 1567.—D. F.

[4] *Joannis Zonaræ Annales*, in Ayminius, *Corpus universæ historiæ præsertim bizantinæ*, Lutetia, 1567.—D. F.

[5] Francisco Vicente de Tornamira: *Chronographia y repertorio de los tiempos a la moderno*, etc., Pamplona, 1585.—D. F.

[6] "Pars" in Stevens; but this is a plain misprint, for the Spanish is "*partes*."

[7] Regarding the *Rauẓat uṣ-Ṣafá* of Mír Khwánd, see Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. i, pp. 87-88.—D. F.

their Kings, from the first of them to him that is now reigning,[1] which being altogether new and not publish'd by any other, I thought might be acceptable.

It is not my Design to argue upon doubtful Points, or to confute[2] the Opinions of others, but only briefly to relate what the *Persians* have preserv'd by Tradition, and is confirm'd as Truth by their Writings; and since they look upon it as such, it is reasonable we should do so too; for we ought rather to believe the Natives, who speak like Eye-witnesses, than Strangers in this Particular; so that this History of ours may be of use for the perfecting of others, which have hitherto been very imperfect. The *Portuguese* Historian, *John de Barros*,[3] makes mention of *Mirkond*'s Chronicle in his Decads;[4] but for want of Understanding the Language, could give us no more than the Name.[5]

Besides the short Account of the Kings, this Book contains some Curiosities, most of them taken notice of in the Margent, which I have inserted, as believing them pat to the Purpose and diverting. I am sensible that some of them might have been more properly placed in the Second Book; but having at first design'd to publish only the First, they were plac'd there, and I thought it

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[1] Sháh Abbás (1585-1628), the above having been written in 1609. Near the end of his *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira says: "Xá Abás, son of the blind Mahamed, inherited by his death the kingdom of Persia, which he possesses to-day; the rule of which he has held for thirty and three years." To the word "to-day" he puts a marginal note "1608." The curious error here as regards the length of Sháh Abbás's reign is repeated at the end of the list of the kings of Persia, where "33" is given in figures, and is rendered additionally wrong by the marginal note "Abril 1609." (Stevens has reproduced the blunder on his own account in his Supplement to Teixeira's *History*.)—D. F.

[2] Misprinted "confufe" in Stevens. The Spanish is "*refutar*."

[3] In orig., "Iuan de Bayrros."—D. F.

[4] The reference appears to be to *Dec. II*, Liv. X, cap. v, at the end of which Barros says, that the information he gives in cap. vi concerning the history of Persia is chiefly taken from "the Tarigh of the Moors, which is of the life of the Califas who succeeded him" (Muhammad).—D. F.

[5] Here Stevens has omitted a whole paragraph, more important than he thought:—"First I wrote these Relations in my Portuguese mother tongue, and only the first book, up to the Arab invasion of Persia. But when I would print it, as already licensed, under pressure and counsel of my friends, I put it into Castilian, and brought the second book up to our days; thinking that in that tongue it would have a wider market. And therein is my own land rather helped than hurt, though I doubt not that, as written in a foreign tongue, there must be many errors, which I leave to the mercy of the wise and candid reader."

not worth while afterwards to remove them;[1] the Reader may give entire Credit to them, for they were either seen by my self, or receiv'd from Persons I believe as I would my own Eyes.[2]

The Proper Names, either of Men, or of Places, or of other Things, may perhaps be thought harsh and difficult of Pronunciation, which I could easily have adapted to our Language, but thought it better to give them their own Sound, by reason the altering of them generally creates Confusion; for had those who have writ, or translated Histories, been always careful to give Men and Places their Proper Names, without any Alteration, there would be less Confusion in reading of them. And in regard that this Book may happen to be read by some Person that has attain'd the knowledge of the *Persian* and *Arabick* Languages, who may call in Question any of the Etymologies I produce upon Occasion, I desire such to take Notice, that the more universal Languages are, the more they vary in their Terminations, according to the Provinces they are used in, whereof there are Instances enough in our own and in the *French*, *Latin*, and *Greek* Tongues.[3]

The Calculation of Time, according to the *Persians*, is to be seen in general in the First Book, but much more particularly in the Second, their method being still observ'd. It is possible I may have committed some Mistake in reducing the Years of their *Era*, to our Year of CHRIST, by reason of the difference of the Lunar Year us'd by them,[4] and the Solar by us; I did my best, and if any other can and will reduce it to a greater Exactness, I shall be very well pleas'd, and return him now Thanks beforehand.

Together with the Kings of *Persia*, I give a Relation of those of *Harmuz*, or *Ormuz*, &c.[5]

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[1] In the earlier chapters of the *Kings of Persia*, these digressions are distinguished by having an asterisk prefixed; but after the fourteenth chapter this distinctive sign is dropped.—D. F.

[2] As a matter of fact, Teixeira himself is generally a good eye-witness. But the persons in whom he placed confidence did not always deserve it.

[3] After "Tongues" the original has, "and so he will not condemn whatever he may not understand." This is very well put, and still better (as might be expected) in the original. Unfortunately, Captain Stevens was not content to follow Teixeira's spelling, but used one of his own, which alone would make it impossible to edit his translation without constant and wearisome correction. As this Preface contains hardly any proper names, and only two Asiatic, I have thought it the best sample of him that I could choose.

[4] *I.e.*, the Religious Chronology starting from the Hijra, or Flight. When Teixeira comes to the Persian solar year, he has no hesitation in calling the *Naw-Roz* the 20th of March. [See p. 230 *infra*.—D. F.]

[5] Here Captain Stevens omits the last two paragraphs of Teixeira's Preface; and as I have made use of his own as a favourable example

Thus far our Author *Teixeira*; to which I shall only add, that the short Supplement made to his Kings of *Persia*, to continue them down from his Time to ours, is

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of his work, so I will give these two paragraphs as a specimen of the original Castilian of our traveller, who has not, unhappily, left us any sample of his Portuguese notes :—

"Tambien te doy con los Reyes de Persia la relacion de los de Harmus, Reyno de que en aquel de la Persia se contiene no poca parte, que por ser tanto en el, y sugetto a la Corona del nuestro de Portogal, me parecio [ra]razon escriuir su principio y el numero de sus Reyes hasta que los Portoguezes lo occuparon.

"Hallaras al fin vna relacion del viage que hize dende la India hasta Italia, con el discurso de algunas cosas, que pienso no te daran disgusto.

"Y como de lo que aqui escriuo no espero loor, ni temo lẽguas de Ignorãtes sensuradores por ser todo verdadero, y yo solo como interprete y testigo de visto de la mayor parte, no pretendi para este mi trabajo otra protecion mas que solo la tuya, curioso lector, y ansi a ti solo lo dedico y offresco, desseãdo que te agrade, que de mi parte yo estoy satisfecho, porque como lo hize por mi gusto recebi adelantada la paga del tiẽpo, despeza, y trabajo empleado en ello, que no fue poco. Resta solo pedirte, no que no lo muerdas, o que lo alabes, que vá poco en lo vno o en lo otro, sino que por tu quietud aduiertas, que si algo a caso hallares en estas relaciones que te paresca arduo no lo condenes, sin inquirir primero la possibilidad de lo que dubdas, ni pienses tambien que de los particulares que se escriuen de vna Region, Reyno, o Prouincia, te podra dar bastante satisfacion qualquiera persona que en ella haya estado, pues son muchos los que las pueden ver, y muy pocos los que los saben notar y inquirar. Vale."

[Mr. Sinclair had written only as far as the word *satisfecho* in the above extract when he died. I have finished the quotation, and append a translation, as follows :—

"With the Kings of Persia I give thee also the relation of those of Harmus, a kingdom, no small part of which is contained in that of Persia, and which being so great in itself, and subject to the crown of our kingdom of Portugal, it seemed to me right to describe its origin and the number of its kings until the Portuguese occupied it.

"At the end thou wilt find a relation of the journey that I made from India to Italy, with the discussion of various matters, which I think will not cause thee displeasure.

"And as of what I have here written I do not hope for praise, nor fear the tongues of the ignorant and censorious because all is true, and I alone as interpreter and eye-witness of the greater part, I have not claimed for this my work any other patronage but thine alone, curious reader, and therefore to thee alone I dedicate and offer it, desiring that it may please thee, and I for my part am satisfied, because since I did it for my own pleasure I received in advance the payment of the time, expense and trouble employed on it, which was not little. There remains only to beg thee, not that thou cavil not at it, nor that thou praise it, which concerns me little one way or the other, but that for thine own quietude thou observe, that if perchance

collected from the *Turkish* History,[1] and the best Modern Travellers, as *Thevenot*,[2] *Tavernier*,[3] *Chardin*,[4] *Gemelli*,[5] &c. and that it was not made longer, lest it should be thought not to bear Proportion with the rest of the History.

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thou shouldst find in these relations anything that may appear to thee difficult thou condemn it not, without first inquiring as to the possibility of that which thou doubtest, nor that thou think also that of the particulars that are written of a region, kingdom, or province, any person that has been there will be able to give thee sufficient satisfaction, since many are those that are able to see them, but very few those that know how to take note of and inquire concerning them. *Vale.*"—D. F.]

[1] See *supra*, p. ci, *n.*

[2] Jean de Thévenot: *Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant*, etc., Paris, 1664-84, and later editions (English translation by D. Lovell: *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant*, etc., London, 1687).

[3] *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier . . . . . en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, Paris, 1676, and later editions (English translation by J. Philips and E. Everard: *Collections of Travels through Turkey into Persia and the East-Indies*, London, 1684).

[4] Jean Chardin: *Journal du Voyage . . . . en Perse*, etc., Londres, 1686, and later editions (English translation: *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies*, etc., London, 1686).

[5] Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri: *Giro del Mondo*, etc., Napoli, 1699-1700, and later editions. (No English translation at the time Stevens wrote.)

CERTIFICATE OF ORTHODOXY AND LICENSE TO PRINT.

THIS History of the Kings of Persia and of Harmuz, with the Journey from India to Italy, written by Pedro Teixeira, contains nothing contrary to the Roman Catholic faith, or against good morals, as we are assured in writing by the Reverend Father Jacobus Tirinus, Professor in Divine Theology of the Company of Jesus ;[1] who, by our order and commission, has read and examined it. Done in Antwerp, the 22nd of September, 1609.

IUAN DEL RIO, Dean and Vicar-General of the Bishopric of Antwerp.[2]

Cum Gratia et privilegio ad quadriennium.

Signat.

WOUWERE.[3]

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[1] Jacques Tirinus, a native of Antwerp, 1580-1636 (see Backer-Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. viii, col. 50).—D. F.

[2] I can find no reference to this man in the books I have consulted ; but he must have been a relative of Martin Antoine del Rio, a native of Antwerp (1551-1608) and a voluminous writer (see Backer-Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, tom. ii, col. 1894 *et seq.*).—D. F.

[3] Jan van Wouweren, a native of Antwerp (1576-1635), of which city he was elected a councillor in 1602. See further regarding him in Delvenne's *Biog. du Roy. des Pays-Bas*, tom. ii, p. 600 ; *Nouv. Biog. Gén.*, tom. xlvi, p. 840 ; *Biog. Univ.*, tom. xlv, p. 84.—D. F.

THE

TRAVELS OF PEDRO TEIXEIRA.

NARRATIVE OF MY JOURNEY FROM INDIA TO ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

Of my reason for making this journey, with a short notice of a previous one, from India to Spain by way of the Philippines.

IN the year 1600 A.D. I was in the fortified city of Malaca,[1] in that region which the ancients called the Golden Chersonese. And wishing to go to Portugal, my own country, I thought to do so by way of the Philippine Isles; to save time and see something of the world, tempted also by the opportunity of a pinnace (*pataxe*), fitting out there for that voyage, which the Captain Martin Alfonso de Melo[2] despatched to warn the Governor of those Isles of the entry of the Dutch into that sea.[3]

[1] How Teixeira came to be in Malacca is explained in the Introduction.—D. F.

[2] Who apparently succeeded to this post on its vacation by Francisco da Silva de Menezes, at the beginning of 1599 (see Couto, *Dec. XII*, Liv. I, cap. xvi; and compare Appendix B, chap. xxix, *infra*).—D. F.

[3] See *Voyage of Capt. John Saris* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), Introduction, p. xxxiii.—D. F.

On the 1st of May, in that year, we sailed from Malaca,[1] a chief station and mart of all the South Sea, standing in 2 deg. 30 min. N. lat. That land is ever green, fresh, and fertile; and though it lies so close under the sun, the climate is temperate and healthy.

We ran southward along the coast, leaving on the right the great Isle of Samatra, commonly called Achen, after a kingdom therein of that name; which lies over against it westwards, only eight leagues from the continent, whereof it was once a part, but separated by the force of the sea. Its states are many, and, if little civilised, yet rich, and abounding in fine gold, pepper, lac, white benzoin, camphor, and other goods of price, besides plenty of victuals.[2] On the right, likewise, we left the Strait of Sabam,[3] formed by that and other almost numberless isles. Thereby men sail to the Javas, Sunda, Amboyno, Maluco, Thimòr, Solor, Bale, and many other isles and kingdoms of that sea. And coasting the continent, and passing by the rivers therein named Muar and Polé, we came to the Strait of Sincá-purá,[4] between that and the isles which form the other of Sabam. This is of the figure of a [numeral] 5, and for half a league so narrow that the ships, bound either for India or China, cannot tack therein. Therefore they anchor at either entrance, awaiting a good tide, with which, and a boat sent ahead to help the helm, to pass the strait. It

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[1] For descriptions of Malacca in the early part of the seventeenth century, see *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), vol. iii, pp. 265-277; *Linschoten* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), vol. i, pp. 104-106; *Pyrard* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), vol. ii, pp. 150-156.—D. F.

[2] Cf. *Linschoten*, vol. i, pp. 107-111.—D. F.

[3] See *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. iv, p. 90 *n.* In Linschoten's map of the Eastern Seas (see *Voyage of Capt. John Saris*, p. 192), Sabam is shown as a town on the coast of Sumatra, opposite to the island of Linga.—D. F.

[4] This strait is the *old* passage north of the Isle of Singapur, called by the Malays themselves "Salát Tebrau," separating the isle from Johor, and only used now by coasters and ferry-boats (see *China Sea Directory*, 4th ed., vol. i, pp. 244 *et seq.*, and, for the tides, p. 28).

happens often that they must wait three, four, or five days; for so long, more or less, the tide runs ever one way, a thing surely worth wonder. Nor less strange is it that in all that coast and isles the shell-fish are seen to be fat at new moon and void at full moon, contrary to those of all other lands and seas.[1]

In this strait, and by the neighbouring shores, live those sea-folk called Seletes (of whom I have made mention in the first book of the *Kings of Persia*)[2] great fishers and greater thieves. In the midst of this strait the tide failed us, and the pataxe got on the rocks, where we were in great danger, and with toil and trouble enough got clear of it. It pleased God that the return of the tide was speedy, with which we got out at the other end. Here we watered in Romanya, which is on the continent, thirty-two leagues from Malaca, and passed on our left hand the White Rock,[3] well known to our Portuguese in the East, for it is a beacon to ships in search of that passage, bound to Malaca from Japon, China, Cacho-China, Chincheo, Camboia, Siam, Pate, Patane, Pam, Champá, and also as one of those places where the compass shows no variation.[4]

We pursued our voyage amongst islands almost countless, all uninhabited. In twenty-three days' sail, from Malaca to Borneo, we lost sight of them but for one. We reached Borneo without adventure, beyond the common alarms of that voyage, of shoals, reefs, currents, and

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[1] This notion of mollusca waxing and waning with the moon is derived from Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.*, Bk. II, chap. xli). [Cf. *Linschoten*, vol. ii, p. 11.—D. F.]

[2] See Appendix B, chap. xxix, *infra*.—D. F.

[3] Better known now as bearing the Horsburgh Light. [See *Linschoten*, vol. i, p. 119.—D. F.]

[4] The variation is not great on our last charts, and probably could not be detected by such instruments as Teixeira's ship may have had in 1600 A.D. Pám is Pahang, and Chincheo was a port in the Chinese province of Fuh-kien, somewhere near Amoy. [See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Chinchew."—D. F.]

sudden storms; by reason of which great ships cannot sail this way. We made landfall on the western point of the isle, and coasted northwards two hundred leagues to the port, which is safe and spacious, formed by the channel of a great and deep river, there falling into the sea, and by certain other isles that surround it.[1] Borneo is one of the greatest eastern isles, but not of most resort. The inhabitants are Moors, all of olive complexion, and good-looking, especially the women. Most of them go naked, but for a cloth girt about them; the best with a *bajú*, that is, a light short skirt.

The isle abounds in all sorts of produce of those regions. Here is got the pure and perfect camphor, called (as most excellent) "of Borneo," by scraping it out of the heart of a great tree with iron claws, like resin, throwing it into cold water, and often changing the same until it be refined. This is not brought to Portugal, because it fetches very high prices in India.

There is plenty of bezàr stones, much tortoise-shell, wax, and some gold. But the isle on this side is neither well-peopled nor very healthy. For the kingdoms of Lave, Maiar Maçem,[2] and others, all rich enough, lie on the other. Nor are the people hereabout much given to trade. So there is no export here, but what the Portuguese get in barter for some cloths that they carry thither. This port was once in the possession of the Spaniards, who abandoned it as unhealthy and little fit for traffic, the land unsuitable, and the folk unserviceable. The chief place, where the king of this port lives, is in the river. The houses are all of wood, built on piles and platforms, stayed with hawsers of canes,[3] that is, of the *rota* already men-

[1] This is the modern Brunei.

[2] Represented by modern Pontianak and Banjarmasin.

[3] *Vexucos* (*bejucos* of modern dictionaries). Teixeira seems to think it a word requiring explanation. "*Rota*" is rattan.

'cloned.[1] When he pleases, on account either of the weather or anything else, the whole town moves across the river with very little trouble.[2] Nor is this matter of marvel, for so are they used to do in Palinban,[3] and Andreguir,[4] and other places and ports on the opposite coast of Samatra, and in some other isles of that region.

All the dwellers in that isle are prone to thievery, which the better to practise, they set forth in weak little boats, and go four hundred leagues, or more, to the coast of Pegu, to plunder; and return with their barks and prizes laden with booty. And seldom do they suffer from the weather, for the Malayan or Malacan Sea is so calm that men call it the Ladies' Sea. And if it be disturbed by the not-infrequent storms, which are of wonderful violence, though soon over, they take refuge on the shore, which they ever hug close: and proceed on their voyage when the weather mends. Their arms are swords, *cofos*,[5] that is, targets made of *rota* or *vexucos*,[6] lances, assegais, and even arquebuses; but the commonest are *selihhes*,[7] which are charred stakes, so hard as to pierce like iron; and easily broken, whereupon they have the wound full of a thousand

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[1] In the *Kings of Persia*, Bk. I, chap. xxxiii, where Teixeira, describing the methods of obtaining camphor and diamonds in the kingdom of Lave, says that it is in the woods there that the fine *rota* grows, and he adds a description of it (see *infra*, App. A).—D. F.

[2] Stevens has translated this passage as if the houses were built on anchored rafts. But I think it will also bear the construction in the text, and that this is in itself more probable; because Brunei is at this day built on piles, like many other Malayan settlements.

[3] Palembang, on a river flowing into Banka Strait, called the Sungi Sungsang.

[4] The Indragiri River, flowing into Amphitrite Bay, in the Berhala Strait.

[5] Cf. Ant. Tenreiro, *Itinerario da India*, cap. i:—"trazem huns escudos a que chamão cofos de seda, de algodão tão fortes, que os não passa nenhuma frecha."—D. F.

[6] Rattans (see note above).—D. F.

[7] Javanese, *saligi* or *sâligi*, "a wooden dart or javelin" (Crawford's *Malay-Eng. Dict.*)—D. F.

splinters that make it almost incurable. Next after this weapon, amongst this folk, are the darts of the *zeruetana*,[1] which are very slender, made of a certain rush, tipped with the tooth of a venomous fish; which, if they draw blood, are deadly.[2] But, as these are only blown out the *zaruetana*, their shot is easy of defence, and their venom of cure, for very effective antidotes have been discovered. On the African coast of the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese could never yet find any such for the poisoned arrows of the mainland negroes of Melinde and Monbaça. By these I have seen many die offhand of mere scratches with frightful suffering, and without help or hope.

Enough said of Borneo. We left that port, and coasted the isle for two more days, passing near the Mount San Pedro therein, so high as to be seen for fifty leagues.[3] Leaving it astern we kept our course, ever amongst unpeopled isles, whereof the best known are Paragua and Malaua,[4] with others beyond count; and at every step we seemed lost among them. At last, on the 22nd of June, we anchored in the Bay of Cavite, the port of the isle and city of Manila. Manila is the chief town and headquarters of the Isles of Lucon, as the natives call them, which we call the Philippines, because they were conquered in the time of the King Don Philip the Second, of glorious memory. Although not then first discovered, for they and more had been found long before by my countryman, the

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[1] Blowpipe (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Sarbatane").—D. F.

[2] In Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India*, blowpipe darts are said to be sometimes headed with fishes' teeth, and poisoned with Upas sap. The authority for this is not clearly stated, but appears to be modern. There are some fish-teeth very suitable, especially those on the *rostra* of small saw-fishes (*Pristis*), abundant in the Malayan seas. Many fishes, especially sting-rays, have suitable *spines*.

[3] Mount Kini Balu.

[4] Paragua is Palawan; Malaua may be Malawale. It is difficult to believe that Teixeira had any good information about them. They cannot have been uninhabited; though probably the population was not dense.

Portuguese Fernando de Magallanes, after he found the strait to which he gave his own name, and which yet retains it. And he fell in one of these isles, called Zebú, one hundred leagues from this port.[1]

These isles are many, and some great; all well peopled. The folk are submissive, yet some, called Ilocos and Pintados,[2] have at times given the Spaniards enough to do. They are of gray or olive complexion, and go naked, but for certain sheets of cotton. They were partly heathen and partly Moors; but the latter have been rooted out,[3] and now there are only heathens and Christians. These isles are improving greatly by the trade brought in by the Spaniards, who import yearly more than a million and a half of silver from New Spain, and export hence China goods, brought in great quantity by the Chincheos,[4] whom they call Sangleys;[5] yet not of the high quality of what the Portuguese draw from China.[6]

The city is great, composed of fine stone and lime buildings. Both it and they exceed what is wanted: which the Spaniards understanding have thrown a plain wall across the middle of it, that in case of need they may bring themselves into a less compass.

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[1] In Matan or Magtan, a little isle close to Zebu.

[2] The Ilocos were of N. Luzon; the Pintados of the Viscayas.

[3] The Moros, or Musalmans, were so far from being "rooted out" that they were warring on the Spaniards, from Teixeira's days to ours. (*Vide*, for details, Foreman's *Philippine Islands*, 2nd ed., London, 1899.) Either Teixeira was deceived, or he was afraid to publish the truth.

[4] Chinese of Fuh-kien. [Cf. *Voyage of Capt. John Saris* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), pp. 226-227.—D. F.]

[5] Stevens, in his *Spanish-English Dictionary*, explains the origin of the word thus:—"Because at their first coming thither [the Philippines] the *Spaniards* asking them who they were, they answer'd *Xang Ley*, that is, we come to trade, which the others not understanding thought it had been their name." That the word represents Chinese *sǎng le*, "to trade," seems evident.—D. F.

[6] See Morga's *Philippine Islands* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), p. 336, *et seq.*, on the trade of the Philippines.—D. F.

There is a cathedral church, the seat of an archbishop, and three more bishops in other places; a royal court of justice, and a governor with viceregal powers. Some noble new churches were being built. The city is walled, against a possible risk from Japon; with which, though they have trade, the Spaniards are much upon their guard and good behaviour. The isles bear much rice, and wine made of the *nypa*;[1] and though there was formerly no sort of cattle, these have bred and increased under the care of the Spaniards, insomuch as to rival New Spain. There is got here much wax, and much gold, profitably exported to Mexico; and though many of the native islanders pay their tribute in gold, and deal in it, yet could never the Spaniards, up to my time, for all their endeavours find out whence these got it. They cannot raise wheat here; in default whereof they make bread of flour from Chincheo[2] and Japon. There is found plenty of ebony and cannafistola,[3] and of all the fruits common in those lands. Of these, moreover, they export great supplies to the neighbouring lands of Maluco, without which they would fare ill, by reason of the great distance and uncertain supply of India, whence they are victualled. The China trade with these isles is favoured not only by its profit but by close neighbourhood, for from the furthest of them to the mainland of China it is not more than ten days' voyage; and so those bound from Mexico to Manilla talk of their China voyage, and passengers from Manilla for New Spain say they are from China for Castile.

When I was come to Manilla I got leave of the Governor,

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[1] *Nipa fruticans*, a plant allied to the palms, and producing, as most of them do, a sweet fermentable "toddy."

[2] See note 4 on p. 3. The Philippines now import rice from French India. It will be noticed that Teixeira says nothing of hemp, nor of tobacco.

[3] Our *cassia fistula*.—D. F.

Don Francisco Tello de Menezes,[1] to go on to New Spain; without which one can in nowise go; and it is not easily granted. I went on board a new ship, one of four shortly to sail, whereof the *Santa Margarita*, which was *capitana*, and the *San Geronimo*, *almirante*,[2] were lost on that voyage on the Ladrones Isles. Of this last, the captain was one Diego Rodrigues de Segura, with whom I had made a bargain, but God in His goodness diverted me from it. Another, the *Contadora*, was seven months on her voyage to Acapuilco, and got there little better than a wreck.[3]

I was berthed then, as I say, aboard this ship,[4] whereof were captains and owners, the Marshal Gabriel de Ribera,[5] and the Captain Domingo Hortis de Chaboya, men of means, who had built her for their own voyage to Mexico, with intent to take no passengers. But they gave me passage as a great favour, and on July 18th we set sail from that port, which is in 13 deg. 30 min. N. lat., and on the 26th we came to the end of the isles of that Government, all inhabited, amongst which we had sailed con-

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[1] Couto (*Dec. XII*, Liv. II, cap. xi) mentions him by this name as Governor of Manila in 1598. (See also Appendix B, chap. xxix, *infra*.) Ant. de Morga, however, calls him "Don Francisco Tello de Guzman, knight of the habit of Santiago, treasurer of the House of Commerce with the Indies." He also informs us that Don Francisco entered upon the government of the Philippines in July 1596, and died suddenly in Manila in April 1603, having been succeeded in office by Don Pedro de Acuña in May 1602. (See Morga's *Philippine Islands*, pp. 55, 199.)—D. F.

[2] The *capitana*, as usual in the Peninsular squadrons of the period, is here the flagship, and the *almirante* that of the second in command.

[3] Morga (*op. cit.*, p. 188) mentions only two ships as having sailed in 1600 from Manila for New Spain, viz., the flagship *Sta. Margarita*, commander Juan Martinez de Guillestigui, and the *San Geronymo*, under Don Fernando de Castro. The sad fate of both these vessels is also related by Morga.—D. F.

[4] The fourth and only lucky ship of the squadron. Oddly enough, Teixeira does not tell us her name.

[5] See Morga (*op. cit.*), pp. 25, 27, 429.—D. F.

tinually for one hundred leagues. The place is called, from the name of one of them, the Pass of Kapul.[1] This was no small mercy of God, for it often happens that two months are wasted in getting to this place, with suffering and weariness enough.[2]

Here we took in water, fowls, pigs, fruit, and vegetables,[3] which the islanders bring for sale to the ships. When we tried to get out of the pass, with a fresh and following wind, we were hindered from midnight to noon, by so strong and terrible a tidal current, that for all the wind's help we could not gain half a league until the tide turned; whereupon we got out at such a rate that shortly we lost sight of all the Isles, and shaped our course for those of Japon, formerly called Argentarias, for their great produce of fine silver, whereof the Portuguese yearly export a great amount to China.

Of these Isles, or of the best part of them, the Conbaco Taycosama[4] had the Empire in our day. He was a poor woodman, who lived by bringing daily on his shoulders a

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[1] This is the Strait of S. Bernardino, opening eastwards between the Isles of Luzon and Samar. Kapul is a little island just inside (*i.e.* south-west) of the Strait. Some English maps and old charts give the name of S. Bernardino to the whole channel through the Isles, but its western end is called on a fine Spanish map, reproduced by Berghaus (1832), "*Estrecho de Mindoro*," and on an English Admiralty chart now (1898) in use, it is called "Verde Island Channel." It is north of Mindoro, and south of Luzon. There seems to have been much confusion of names in Philippine hydrography.

[2] For a description of the course taken by ships from Manila to New Spain, see Morga (*op. cit.*, pp. 355-357).—D. F.

[3] *Frutos* including vegetables.

[4] *Kwambaku Taikō Sama* seems to mean "My Lord the ex-Regent," or something like it. At any rate, the ruler referred to is Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and the description apparently correct. He was of humble birth; though I cannot be sure about the faggots, he was Kwam-Baku; and after his (nominal) retirement, he was properly entitled "Taiko Sama." He did invade Korea, by deputy, and died in 1598. Probably Teixeira, who does not seem to have landed in Japan, got his information in Manila. I am indebted for the substance of this note to the works and courtesy of Mr. W. G. Aston, and to the *Ancien Japon* of Messrs. G. Appert and H. Kinoshita, a wonderful *multum in parvo*.

faggot from the forest, and selling it for his living. Yet by his valour and caution he won that rule, and kept and managed it with uncommon wisdom and justice, forcing the indolent Japonese to agriculture, and subjecting their almost untamed energies to politic laws. Hereby he made those realms to prosper above precedent, and his neighbours to dread his arms. These he made felt on the mainland of Koray, which Portuguese authorities call commonly Còrea, a kingdom bordering on China, and vassal to the king thereof, which was of no small avail in its defence.

We were now in the latitude of Japon, whereof the southernmost port, Nangazaquy, where the Portuguese have a factory, is in 33 deg. N. lat.; and the realms of the Cantoò,[1] in over 40 deg. Being by the sea-marks not far from the Isles, we altered the course to east; and sighting some (isles) new and unknown, we sailed many days on that wide South Sea, for the lands of New Spain. On the third of November, we made the land in 40 deg. N. lat., at Cape Mendozino. This is a point of no variation of the compass. Thence, we ran down the coast southward, looking out for certain isles that lie thereby.[2]

Now, when we left the Philippines, we had warning by the Mexico ships that certain Dutch vessels had passed the Strait of Magallanes into the South Sea.[3] (For none may sail thence before these [Mexico ships] come in, not if they have to await them to the next year.) Wherefore we came prepared, and so well appointed, that in all the

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[1] These are puzzling. The latitude and context suit the north of "Hondo," *i.e.*, of Japan proper, exclusive of Yeso. I suppose "Hondo" and "Cantoò" to represent "Kwanto," which is the name of the "Home Counties," or metropolitan province, in the useful little map attached to Mons. G. Appert's *Ancien Japon*. [The term "Kwanto" was often applied loosely to the whole of the northern half of Hondo.—D. F.]

[2] The islands of Cenizas and Cedars, according to Morga (*op. cit.*, p. 357).—D. F.

[3] See footnote 4 on the next page.—D. F.

ship (whose cargo was worth about four hundred thousand ducats) we had no more than seven or eight swords, and one arquebus, out of repair.[1] Pursuing our voyage, as we ran down the coast at about two leagues distant, near the Californias,[2] one fine moonlit night, we found ourselves amidst three ships; one inshore of us, and close aboard, the others in the offing at some distance. I need not tell how we all felt, for the hearts of the wariest and the boldest failed them all alike.

The little ship inshore came to speech of us; asking whence we came, and we answered "From China," thinking to run ashore[3] if they were foes. But they said that they were of a squadron that Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of Perú, had sent from Lima, in chase of certain Hollanders,[4] come into that sea; and that they were on the look-out, not for those only, but for their own flagship, wherein was their *Capitan Mayor*, Don Juan de Velasco, with three hundred men, forty great guns, and four hundred thousand assayed pieces, of thirteen *reals* each;[5] who had parted company in a storm on September 21st; and that, as they found her not, they held her for foundered, and so it had befallen.[6] For all these tales we trusted them not, holding all for pretences; and in this

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[1] No mention is made of cannon throughout the voyage. Perhaps none could be spared from Manila to arm a new ship. I fear that I have failed to render the quiet, bitter irony of the original.

[2] See note on next page.

[3] "*Dar al travez.*" My construction is not borne out by my dictionaries, but it is forced by the sense, warranted by several other instances in the *Viage*, and (I find, *since* adopting it) has the support of the older translator, Captain Stevens. The shore, it may be remembered, was Spanish territory.

[4] These were the squadron of Olivier van Noort, a summarised account of whose voyage will be found in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, vol. i, lib. ii, chap. v. (See also Morga's *Philippine Islands*, pp. 149-187, 261-264).—D. F.

[5] Captain Stevens freely translates "Pieces of Eight of essayed Silver."

[6] See Morga's *Philippine Islands*, p. 151.—D. F.

apprehension we were until morning, when the others closed and saluted us, and we reassured ourselves by the exchange of visits and gifts; praising God, who had turned our grief into joy. We held on our course past the Californias, a gulf like the Red Sea; though as yet its end is not known.[1] Herein has lately been found a great pearl fishery. After coasting for more than seven hundred leagues, we came on the first of December to Acapuilco, the port of that voyage, in the lands of New Spain in the South Sea. It lies in 16 deg. 40 min. N. lat., and is one of the most spacious, calmest, and safest from all winds that I have seen in the world. We had been four months and a half at sea, which was a good voyage enough.[2]

Having rested here some days, and settled my affairs, I started for Mexico, distant thence eighty leagues of terrible and dangerous road; over great and steep mountains, with countless rivers of good water and thick woods. The land is ill-peopled, and the natives dull and abject.

On this journey one crosses three rivers of name. First, that of Papagayo, which is very deep, and is passed in a ferry-boat; then that of the Balsas, which is like the Tagus in Portugal, of a swift current, and is passed upon *balsas*,[3] of canes laid upon dry calabashes, which the Indians, swimming, tow over.[4] On these two rivers the passage is paid for. The third, which is called (the River) of San Francisco, though great and deep, is fordable in places. I missed the ford, and had been lost outright;

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[1] Our use of the expression "the Californias," to denote Upper and Lower California, is comparatively modern. Here, and above, it means only the mouth of the Gulf. The end of it was better known than Teixeira supposed.

[2] Morga (*op. cit.*, p. 357) says that the voyage "usually lasts five months, a little more or less, and frequently six months or more time." —D. F.

[3] Rafts, or pontoons.

[4] Rivers were passed in India in this way, very lately. I have often so crossed them. Comic incidents were frequent on such ferries.

but, next to God, my good horse saved me. Along most of this road is a plague of mosquitoes, so terrible and grievous that no defence avails against them; and so they stung my best slave to death for me.[1]

After this, travelling with only the usual inconveniences, we crossed the Marquisate of the Valley,[2] and got into Mexico at midnight on Christmas Day.

Here I was until May 2nd, when I started for Spain. I passed the Volcano,[3] which is a peak and pass, steep enough. There issues from it a thick smoke, yet is it ever covered with snow, which is worthy of note, since it lies south of the tropic. I went by the City of Los Angeles, called commonly La Puebla,[4] and other places of less account, until I came to San Juan de Ulúa,[5] a new port and town of those Indies, on the Northern Sea.[6] It is, by the common road, seventy or eighty leagues from Mexico. This is the only port in a great stretch of that coast, neither very easy nor very safe; and what little good there is about it is due more to art than to nature.

Thence I sailed in the fleet on the last day of May, 1601, and, running down the coast northwards, we thought all to die of thirst, by reason of calms in the Sound of the

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[1] "*Me pusieron á la muerte el mejor esclavo.*" "*Pusieron*" I take to be a misprint for "*punçieron.*" The "*me*" is quaintly expressive of the outraged sense of property.

[2] This Marquisate was that of Cortes himself, granted 1529, and the "Valley" that of Oaxaca (C. F. Lummis, *Awakening of a Nation*, New York and London, 1898, pp. 142-3, note). On the map it looks far out of Teixeira's way; but perhaps what he rode over was some outskirt of it. The Conqueror's fief would naturally have wide limits.

[3] Popocatepetl.

[4] Now, I think, "La Puebla de Zaragosa," the angels having been turned out with the Spaniards.

[5] Now better known as Vera Cruz; notable in English history as the scene of Hawkins's and Drake's defeat in 1567. But it cannot help playing a part in every war of Mexico with any Atlantic power, as being the only important Mexican port of those parts.

[6] The Atlantic.

Tortugas, which kept us forty days on a ten or twelve days' voyage.

At last we got to the Havana, a port of the Isle of Kuba, well enough known and frequented. Here was my ship near lost, and God delivered her by a miracle. For, getting there too late to enter, we stayed without, and in the night it blew so hard that we lost all our four anchors and cables. As the ship was drifting ashore,[1] we made sail, trusting in God's providence, without water, victuals, or anchors; and, although we fired guns, neither were we heard nor could we have been helped if heard, for the weather would not allow of it, and we ran down the coast of the isle. It pleased God, who in the greatest afflictions helps such as trust in Him, that towards morning the wind changed, and we could put about for the port. As we got near it we found the second in command of the fleet coming to meet us with ground tackle in a boat. There is at the entrance of the port, in mid-channel, a great shoal, whereon we grounded by the negligence of our pilot, but, as it pleased God, with little damage.

We left the Havana on July 15th, and passing through the Bahama Channel, along the coast of Florida, passed the Barmuda, and sailed to the banks called of Newfoundland, or of Codfishes.[2] Thence we shaped a course for Spain, and made landfall on August 28th, in 42 deg. N. lat.[3]

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[1] This is the second case of the use of "*al través*" for "ashore,' as on p. 12.

[2] *Bacallaos.* See Ant. Galvão's *Discoveries of the World* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), p. 56; and *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. v.* "Bacalao."—D. F.

[3] Not far from the Bayona Isles. Mr. M. Oppenheim tells me that this was a most unusual landfall for the Mexican treasure-fleet, which commonly sighted the Azores, and made the mainland at Cape St. Vincent. He attributes the strange course to bad navigation. It is clear from the text that Teixeira's ship had not parted company with the fleet, and it is not his habit to pass any isle unnoticed, though desert or nameless.

We ran down the coast to Algarbe, where we were becalmed, and had enough to do to look out for the corsair Murat Arrays,[1] who came with some galliots and failed not to make prey of some folk of the fleet that tried to go ashore in boats. When we got a wind, we pursued our voyage until we anchored in San Lucar on September 6th, and on the 8th I came to Seville. Thence I went to Portugal, but by a roundabout way, to keep promise with a friend. At last, on the 8th of October, I came to Lisbon, a year and a half out of Malaca.

I have not here related the details of this voyage, having often done so for such as asked me about them. In so long and various travel, needs must things worth consideration happen and be observed. But as my only object now is to relate my last journey overland, I will be more diffuse therein, to please those of my friends to whom I could not tell it face to face.

When I sailed from Malaca, I had left some money with friends, for dispatch to Portugal in the usual way by the homeward ships from India, trusting them as on former occasions. But now this business failed outright, and I made up my mind to return to India, the very last thing I had thought of. I went aboard on March 28th,[2] and

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[1] This was Murád Reïs, "the Great Murád," so called to distinguish him from others of the same name. See, regarding him, S. Lane Poole's *Barbary Corsairs*, pp. 192-193. At the end of his 1604-05 journey, Teixeira mentions reports of Murád's being in the Gulf of Venice. (See *infra*, chap. xv.)—D. F.

[2] From the "Relação das Nâos e Armadas da India" (*Additional MS.* 20,902, British Museum), we learn that the fleet of 1602 sailed from Lisbon on March 24th; it could not have been by this, therefore, that Teixeira returned to India, but by the fleet of 1603, consisting of five vessels under the command of Pero Furtado de Mendoça, viz., the ship *N. Sra. de Betancor*, the captain-major; the galleon *S. Salvador*, Vasco Fernandez Pimentel; the galleon *S. Matheus*, Pero de Almeida Cabral (pilot, Simão Castanho); the ship *S. João*, Antonio Vaz Salema; the galleon *S. Simão*, Andre Moreira. "These ships," says the MS. referred to, "cast off from the port of Lisbon on Easter Eve, March 29th, and anchored in Sta. Catherina, whence they sailed on April 9th."—D. F.

will make no mention of what happened on the voyage; to start the sooner with that whereof I propose to treat. We arrived at Goa on October 14th.

I was now weary of such long and tedious sea-faring, and thought I might shorten the same by this journey. I was also inclined to it by curiosity. Such were the occasion and motives of my resolving on the journey, and now follows the account of it.

CHAPTER II.

How I left Goa, and came to Harmuz, and sailed thence for Baçora, but turned back.

ON February the 9th, 1604, I left Goa, the chief city of the Portuguese dominions in India, wherein was then Viceroy Ayres Saldaña;[1] and after two days' delay in the river, I embarked on the morning of the 11th. We made sail at once; and took in none, so fair was our weather, till we came to the coast of Arabia. This we made on the 2nd of March, near the Sound of Mexirá, which we Portuguese call Maciejra. Thence we ran northwards for two days along the coast, to the Cape of Roçalgate in Arabia, rounded it, and entered the Persian Gulf between that land and Persia. We held on along the coast, sighting many ships bound on the same voyage.

One of these, a new and powerful vessel, bound from Basaym for Ormuz (or Harmus, as it should be more rightly called), being ill-handled, fouled ours; and, as she was greater, got her bowsprit and spritsail over our main-yard. As she caught us on the beam, she bore us over, to our great confusion and terror. A clerk of our ship,

[1] Aires de Saldanha succeeded D. Vasco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, as Viceroy of India, December 25th, 1600; and held office until January, 1605.—D. F.

who thought himself a valiant soldier, taking this for a case of honour, hastily took two loaded fire-balls,[1] lit the matches, and hove them aboard the other ship. Had we not made haste to restrain him, he was going to throw more, till he should fire her. It pleased God that the fire did not catch, for, had it done so, without fail we had all perished, hopeless of cure. We toiled in haste to get the ships clear, cutting away much tackle of both. That done, we held on our voyage until, the wind heading us, we anchored in Syfa,[2] a haven of Arabia. After two days, getting a wind, we made sail and reached Mascàte,[3] a port of the same land, which hath these and others, all about that part, contrary to what someone has written. Here we were two days taking in wood and water; and thence we sailed for Harmuz, sixty leagues distant, where we anchored on the 17th of March; being one month out from Goa.

We saw nothing on that voyage worth setting down as new, unless it were certain fowl, which hunt each other as natural enemies. The weaker of these, soaring upwards to escape the stronger, in terror voids the contents of its belly. And the other, pursuing below, whether to this end or from native spite, as fast as these fall from the fugitive, opens its beak, catches and eats them. And the natives say

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[1] "*Alcanzias*." The dictionaries translate "stink-pot;" but there is nothing in the text about stink. Stevens translates "Hand Granadoes;" but these were very modern artillery in 1604; and not very likely to be in use in the Persian Gulf, on board a small vessel. I conjecture that they were fire-balls of clay, such as are still used in India to turn heavy game out of cover, called *ánár*, *i.e.*, "pomegranate," the same as "grenade" and "granado." I am confirmed in this view by some correspondence with my old comrade, Mr. R. S. Whiteway, a good authority. [Cf. Whiteway's *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, p. 41.—D. F.]

[2] Now Sífa, a little south-east of Máskat (*Persian Gulf Pilot*).

[3] Though he stayed two days at Máskat, Teixeira gives no description of the place,—for the reason, probably, that in his *Kings of Persia*, chap. xxix (see Appendix B, *infra*), he had related an experience of his when first visiting the place in 1587.—D. F.

that it lives on nothing else; which I have recorded as seeming extraordinary.[1]

The Captain and Governor of Harmuz was then the *cavallero* Diego Munis Barreto,[2] worthy of that and of much better places. I sailed thence for Basora, in a little vessel of his, on April the 14th. We sailed between the isle of Queixome or Broct, and the mainland of Persia, by a strait,[3] that may be at most three leagues wide, and in parts half a league or less. This isle is from five-and-twenty to thirty leagues long, and ten or twelve in greatest width. It has several ports within and without, but mostly very shallow. The best within are Dargahon, Lapht, Chaú, and Sermion.[4] The point of Queixome on the outside[5] has plenty of palm orchards, gardens, and wells of good water; whence Harmuz is commonly provided, though not thence alone.

There also are Karuèz and Angan,[6] which last, a little distinct island used as a port, forms in its sound a very safe haven, fit to hold many and very great ships. This isle (Queixome) is very fertile, and bore all suitable produce of good quality and in plenty, when it was better peopled; as wheat, barley, fruit and vegetables. Now there is little

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[1] Several predatory sea-fowl have this habit. The robber referred to may probably have been Richardson's skua, which has been eported as a cold-weather visitor to the Persian Gulf. I believe that n all cases the prey is either dropped or thrown up *from the beak*, except when sea-eagles hunt ospreys, and the latter drop fish from their clutches.

[2] From *Documentos Remettidos*, tom. i, we learn that Diogo Moniz Barreto was succeeded this same year by Pedro Coutinho; and it is evident, from the letters referring thereto, that the Portuguese rule in Hormuz was at this time in a very unsatisfactory condition. Teixeira's commendation of Diogo Moniz was, I am afraid, rather biassed.—D. F.

[3] Clarence Strait of our charts.

[4] The three first are on our charts yet. Sermion must have been where our own queer little possession of Basidu or Bassadore now exists.

[5] Extant and prosperous, on the E. point of the isle.

[6] Karvez is not now identifiable; Angan is Henjam Island.

produce, by reason of the raids of the Nihhelús Arabs, that lay it waste, through the negligence of the Captains of Harmuz,[1] only three leagues' sail distant, who could easily and cheaply amend the same.

Passing between this isle and the main, we anchored half-way, when the tide failed us; and when it served again, our anchor came home without the stock, which remained foul of the bottom. So there we must needs be delayed, to fit it with another, for two days of favourable weather; and we felt the loss of these later on.

Leaving Point Sermion, which is the end of the isle,[2] we ran up the Gulf along the Persian coast; heading west, and west-north-west, according to its ins-and-outs, at from one to three leagues off shore; anchoring and making sail according to the tides, which run strong twice or thrice, or sometimes oftener, in the day. For the ruling winds of that narrow sea are ever strong from the north-west. This cannot be done on the Arabian shore, distant at most fifty leagues, for want of anchorage and watering places thereabouts. We passed the isles of Phelur, which we call Pelouro ;[3] Keys (or, as we say Cays),[4] which was once what

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[1] Regarding the Nihhelus, or Niquilus, see note further on. In 1585, the Portuguese had attempted to chastise them for piracies ; but the force sent against them under Pedro Homem Pereira sustained a severe defeat at their hands (see Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. VI, cap. x, and Liv. VII, cap. xvii). In *Doc. Rem.* are Royal letters of February 13th, 1610, and January 26th and 31st, 1612, referring to these pirates, and urging the destruction of their ships. From another letter in the same collection, dated January 27th, 1616, as well as from one written by the Spanish Ambassador, Don Garcia da Silva y Figueiroa, on February 17th, 1615 (printed in Bocarro's *Dec. XIII*, p. 373), it would seem that the effect of the fulfilment of the Royal commands was to exacerbate the already strained relations between the Portuguese and the Shah of Persia, which culminated, in 1622, in the loss to the former of the island fortress of Hormuz.—D. F.

[2] Ras el Mion, now Basidu.

[3] Meaning "cannon-ball" in Portuguese.—D. F.

[4] Farur and Kais. The first has no settled population. But Kais has been luckier than Hormuz, and has three villages, herds, flocks, agriculture, and fifty fishing boats or more.

Harmuz is now;[1] Andreuy,[2] and the Isle of Birds,[3] so called for the multitude of them that roost there, of whose eggs the Arabs come and gather great store, and trade in them hither and thither; and that of Lar, or Làra.[4]

All these are at three, four, or five leagues off shore, and ill inhabited, by reason of the raids of the Noutaques[5] and Nihhelus, Arabs who dwell on the Persian shore so called, and take their name from it.[6] Having anchored here, the wind forced us to leave it in the morning for shelter, under the opposite isle of Làra. The wind was very strong, the weather very dark, and the island low, so that we came so nigh it as forced us to anchor under full sail without furling it; to avoid running ashore[7] and going to pieces, from which God delivered us by miracle. While we lay here, the wind increased, and the ship laboured so much as to carry away the ironwork of the rudder, and we were near losing it, if a boy had not shown it to me. I warned the officers, who got hold of it and hoisted it on deck. Some wanted to carry it ashore for repairs, and others to execute them aboard, whose opinion prevailed, by the grace of God. Had we gone ashore, harm had surely

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[1] As related in the *Kings of Harmuz* (see Appendix B, *infra*.)—D. F.

[2] Hindarabi, small and scantily peopled.

[3] Shitwár, some derivative of Arabic *tayúr* (=birds).

[4] Shaikh Shuwaib. The chief village is called Láz, but the identification rests on position, and not on this name. [Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Lār" (*c*).—D. F.]

[5] Called Noitaques in the Royal letter of January 26th, 1612, referred to in a previous foot-note. On the Noutaques, see *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. iv, p. 154.—D. F.

[6] See note above and next below.

[7] "*Dar al travez.*" Teixeira's third and most unmistakable use of this phrase for "running ashore." The isle is Shaikh Shuwaib, and the "Nihhelus," presumably "Nakhluwís," from Bandar Nakhilu on the mainland opposite. [Cf. *Linschoten*, vol. ii, p. 185, and foot-note.—D. F.] The "Maritime Truce" of the East India Company, still to some extent maintained, made life and business possible on these islands. Shaikh Shuwaib has ten villages, about five hundred men, and twenty-five pearl-boats.

come of it. For, as we learnt afterwards, there were there some Nihhelus, looking out for Portuguese shore parties, to kill them; and it was a wonder that none landed, as it is usual enough to do. There had come there for shelter of the isle, not far from us, a Moorish *terrada*[1] bound on the same voyage, and laden with cotton. Two *terradas* of the Nihhelus approached her by stealth; and thinking to take her at unawares, attacked her one night in the morning watch. But the Moors defended themselves stoutly; and we, who heard the noise of fight, and saw the flashes, fired some guns to scare the enemy. And making speed, we came upon them with daybreak; on seeing which, the thieves drew off, with much loss. Some of the other side were wounded; who came aboard us for treatment, and from that on they kept us closer company. That coast of Persia is mostly mountainous, rugged and barren, except that within it are some places where the natives cultivate the soil by irrigation from wells, and there breed some herds and flocks, which yield them milk, butter and cheese, for use and traffic.

Along this coast we sailed for thirty-five days, with much toil and trouble. Our provision began to fail; nor could we renew it there, for all that shore is disturbed by the wanton ravages of the Portuguese *fustas*,[2] which commonly cruize there. When we had got to Chilao near Verdostam, a place in a sound between Point Vedican and the shoals of Kane,[3] the head wind increased and

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[1] *Terrada* seems to have been a term applied to more than one sort of small craft in the Indian seas. Commander Felix Jones gives "Teradeh" as the name of a small fishing-boat on the Tigris, at Bagdád (*Selections from Records*, Bombay, No. 43, N. S., p. 366) Karsten Niebuhr uses it for an open boat. [See *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. i, p. 105, *n.*—D. F.]

[2] Small armed vessels, *Anglice*, "foists."

[3] Chilao is probably Shilu, "four miles to the westward of Tahiri" (*Persian Gulf Pilot*, p. 255). Bardistan is not far away, and is on all recent maps and charts. The Point of Vedican is Ras Naband,

continued. So, perforce, having lost an anchor and cable, and very nearly run on the shore,[1] which was close aboard, the captain gave orders to bear away for Harmuz, and in four days we ran eighty leagues; that we had gained, with much toil, in five-and-thirty. In our return we had sight of several pirates' *terradas*, never absent from those seas; wherefore merchant ships sailing from Harmuz use commonly the convoy of Portuguese *fustas*. We got back to Harmuz on Friday evening, May the 21st, and anchored in the western port, thirty-nine days out; weary enough, and sore at heart.

CHAPTER III.

How I sailed again from Harmuz, and came to the head of the Persian Gulf; and by the Tigris and Euphrates to the city of Basorá.

WE refitted and victualled ourselves in Harmuz, and started again on the 17th of June, hoping for a better voyage; for that such as had tried it assured us that at that season the north-west wind was less constant and violent. We did, indeed, find some difference, though less than they reported. This time we sailed outside of the isle of Queixome; and ran up the same coast as on the former voyage. We passed the shoals of Kane, and beyond them the fortress of Rexel,[2] famous for the abundance, and good quality, of bread-stuffs, fruit and vegetables in its territory. It belongs to the Shah, or

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sheltering Bandar Baid Khan; and the shoals of Kane are certainly those of Ras-al-Mutaf, near whose northern end is Rás-al-Khan—not that this name matters much in their identification, which depends on position.

[1] The fourth use of "*dar al traves*" for "to run ashore," in the *Viage*.

[2] "Reshire," or Rishahr, close to "Bushire."

King of Persia, on whose shore it stands, and is well garrisoned.

Further north is Regh Ceyfadin[1] (that is, the sand or strand of Ceyfadin), inhabited, like most part of this coast of Persia, by Arabs, tributary to its Shah, or King; and some of them recognise the Portuguese, taking their *cartazes*, or *passaportes*,[2] without which they would sail in peril of the Portuguese *fustas*, cruising commonly in those narrow seas. The men of Regh Ceyfadin were then on ill terms with the Portuguese, by reason of grievances before mentioned; and therefore, and for fear of four *galeotas* that sailed with us, the people had clean deserted the isle of Karg, lying over against this, three leagues to seaward, and little more than two in compass. It affords good shelter from the north-west wind, and is mountainous and stony, with good water, some palm-orchards, sheep and goats. Here is grown store of onions, whereof great cargoes are taken to Baçorá and other ports; the folk are mostly Arabs.[3] Here we anchored on the 25th of July, and lay four days wind-bound. Up to this place the high lands of Persia are near the sea and in sight, but from this on they trend inland,[4] and pass out of sight of navigators; and the land is so low that, even at a little distance, you

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[1] "Bandar Rígh" (not "Righ"), in Persian, *does* mean "Sandy Bay," and probably, from its position, this is "Regh Ceyfadin." Who "Ceyfadin" (Saif u'd Dín) was, is not clear. But it has not been an uncommon title in Persia, nor in Musalman India; and we shall find several chiefs of Hormuz so styled below. But in 1665, when Thevenot embarked here for Basra, it had no name for him, but "Bender Righ or Rík;" which he translates aright. He puts it next after the "River of Boschavir," and "a day's sailing from Bender Rischer" (*Travels into the Levant*, Lovell's Translation, London, Pt. II, chap. viii).

[2] I have thought that these two words might be of more interest in the original Spanish.

[3] This is Kharag, described in similar terms in the *Persian Gulf Pilot*, which mentions "some vegetables" as obtainable.

[4] So also the *Persian Gulf Pilot.*

cannot see it. Two deep rivers of fresh water have their mouths hereabouts, at Rexel and Regh Ceyfadin.[1]

Hence we sailed westward; losing sight of land, though near, for that it is low; being in charge of a Moorish pilot that we took aboard in Karg. This fellow, though reputed the best in those narrow seas, nearly put us high and dry at a pass which the Moors call Karab, that is, "broken" or "ruined."[2] They say that there was a great city, that was overflowed by reason of its low position. This channel is about four leagues wide, with many banks; and is always passed with the lead overboard and a boat ahead, by reason of the varying depth; three fathoms at best. Once through it, we found more water, and land on both hands; and running up the Persian coast we cast anchor, on the 1st of August, in the channel of the Xat-el Arab. This means "the River of the Arabs," who call a famous river *xat*, and the lesser *kor*, or *wed*; whence are named in Spain the Wedelquebir, Wedelager, Wedyana, and others.

This river, whereof men draw the fresh water in the narrows three leagues away from it, is formed of the two famous rivers Tigris and Euphrates, which unite at Corna, the last point of Mesopotamia that lies between them, three days' journey above Basorá. Here have the Turks a fortress called Corna, that is "the Point," commanding both channels.[3] Here they unite to discharge their waters,

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[1] The "river" of "Rexel" is "Khor Sultani, a large creek with a shallow bar," at Bushire. Bandar Rig has "a small khor" (*Persian Gulf Pilot*). The R. G. S. map has a showy-looking "Shahpur River," half-way between them.

[2] *Kharáb*. The translation is sound in Persian and Arabic. Our familiar Hindustani *kharáb*, meaning simply "bad," is of later use. The place lately retained the name, but it has now disappeared from our own charts and the *Persian Gulf Pilot*.

[3] "Kurnah," "Kornah," "Kúrná," of modern maps. Perhaps rightly *Karná*, = a *horn*, and so, by metaphor, a *point* (?) The term is as common in Asiatic Geography on shore as at sea, if not more so.

between shores level on either bank; whereof the northern or Persian plains are in the possession of Mombarek, son of Motelob, an Arab chief who holds them against the Turk, and is at war with him; pretending a right to these and to the territory of Basorá.[1] In his territories are Magdom, Oéza, and Doreka,[2] cities of importance. They lie widely waste, not barren, but untilled for fear of the Turks. Those on the other, or Arabian, bank are fertile and cultivated, with many palm-groves, orchards, and gardens.[3] The river makes near its mouth a great bend, but returns to its course, which here is from west to east. It may be here a little over two miles wide, and about six fathoms deep at this season of low water, with a strong current.

On either shore are abundant herds and flocks, geese and ducks, and other fowl and beasts. The inhabitants are Arabs, who carry on communication by swimming upon inflated skins. Many came thus to our ship, to sell hens, geese, milk, butter, dates, and other victual, all very cheap. There was a strong head wind, so we got but slowly up the river; and after eight or nine leagues came to where it divides into two equal parts. One flows southward through Arabia, and enters the Persian Gulf at Katifa near Barhen, forming of that bit of land an isle perhaps more than eighty leagues long.[4] The other channel is that

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[1] For "Mombarek," see also P. Della Valle, Letter No. 17, from Bagdad, December 10th to 23rd, 1616. [A number of Royal letters in *Doc. Rem.*, tom. i and ii, refer to "Bombareca," and the liberal terms offered by him to the Portuguese, to induce them to form an offensive and defensive alliance with him, against the Turks.—D. F.]

[2] Maktueh, Ahwaz (or perhaps Hawizeh), Dorak, Dawrak, or Fellahieh, R. G. S. map of Persia.

[3] This contrast still exists (*Persian Gulf Pilot* and charts). But Teixeira's channels cannot be verified now: the river has changed too much.

[4] The translation is literal. It is difficult to suppose that Teixeira really believed any mouth of the Shát-el-Arab to reach El Katíf, near the Isles of Bahrein, which last we shall see reason to think that he

by which we had come, and from this on the single stream is wider, deeper, and stronger. A little way up it we came to an islet in mid-stream, one league in length, and half as much broad; green enough, and full of palm-groves and gardens.[1] The channel is deeper on the Arabian side of it. Pursuing our voyage, we came at 8 A.M. of August the 6th to Serràge,[2] fifteen or sixteen leagues from the bar; where ships of burden anchor to discharge cargo. Here we cast anchor over against a fort that the Turks hold on the river side, in the territory of Mombareka. They have many other such, both above and below it, to protect the land, and their vassals therein, against the Arabs' forays.

I left the ship and entered a canal, which may have two fathoms of water at ebb, and more than three at flood tide. For the tide is felt here, though the water is ever fresh.[3] By this creek, fringed on each side with ploughed lands, palm-groves, and gardens watered therefrom, after less than one league's journey, we came to Basorá.

Basorá[4] is a city of Arabs, set about two miles west of the joint Euphrates and Tigris, and communicating

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visited. Yet the distance, in geographical leagues of twenty to a degree, corresponds to that position. One can only suppose our author to have been misled by an ignorant or mendacious pilot. [In the description of Basra, printed from the *Sloane MS.* 197, in the *Comment. of Aj. Dalb.*, vol. iv, pp. 232-238, the writer makes the same statement regarding a branch reaching to Catifa.—D. F.]

This description would suit the modern island of Muhalla, below the entrance of the Hafar, or channel into the Kárún (*Persian Gulf Pilot*).

[2] Not noticed by the *Persian Gulf Pilot* or charts. But Kiepert has "Sâradji," a little below Basra, on the west bank.

[3] Rise and fall at Basra "about nine feet." The influence of the tides reaches about thirty miles beyond Kúrna, but the stream always runs down, the rise and fall gradually decreasing to *nil* (*Persian Gulf Pilot*). The water is more brackish, and hotter, than that of the Hafar, or Kárún, and ships should prefer the latter (*ibid.*).

[4] Cf. the description of Basra referred to in the foot-note *supra*. —D. F.

with them by the canal above mentioned,[1] and by land; but the latter is cut up with artificial public conduits and channels. It stands in a plain, and may have within and without the fortress ten thousand houses, mostly large, but of poor architecture; built of sun-dried bricks that scarce stand for three years. Those of the poor are commonly of mats and bundles of reeds, abundant in the rivers. It hath a citadel, foursquare, yet longer than wide; where many walls and ramparts are all of earth, and almost in ruin. Around it is a deep and wide ditch, filled from the creek. Within it are about ten thousand houses,[2] and here is the centre of traffic. Here also are most of the crafts, and the head-quarters, and most of the garrison. This may be in all of three thousand men, between musketeers and horsemen, Turks, Kurds, and Arabs, besides outposts. There is a Pasha, the supreme commander in peace and war, and a custom-house, whose dues are great, and pay for the garrisons and other expenses, with a great surplus.

There is here an arsenal, and therein much and good artillery, and some galleys; but these are few, of small scantling, and ill-built. They launched a new one of the same sort while I was there. These are not kept against the Portuguese, as someone has written; for the Turks know well that with such they could do no harm to them. But they are for use in the river and thereabouts, to keep in order the rebellious Arabs, from whom they exact heavy tribute. Small as they are, they cost much; for that land has no timber at all, and it is costly of import.

They cross their creek by a wooden bridge set upon

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[1] Asshar creek of the *Persian Gulf Pilot.*

[2] The number above assigned to the fortified city and suburbs. The *fortaleza*, or fort, usually means in the East a fortified city, and not a citadel reserved for military use only.

eight boats, and elsewhere in boats that they call *danequas*, built of any little scraps of wood for want of greater. But in spite of this, and of their being uncaulked, they are very staunch and water-tight, being covered with a bitumen that they call *quir*,[1] whereof I shall have more to say, in place of pitch. Basorá is well provided and fertile, especially in dates; so good, and so abundant, that they are exported yearly in great quantity to Bagdad, the ports of Persia and Harmuz, and are a staple food. The soil bears all fruits and vegetables, wheat, barley, rice, and garden-stuff, abundant and cheap; and as there is import from Rexer,[2] Regh Ceyfadin, and Dorek, the price is kept down. There are in plenty all sorts of great and small cattle, and of fowl, and fish from the river, but not good. There is trade with Harmuz, whence come all Indian wares; with Barhen, Catifa, Lasán,[3] Persia, Bagdad, and all Arabia thereabouts. There are here countless scorpions, and I saw many as big as common crayfish.[4] The air is unhealthy, and the climate very hot. The folk are Turks and Arabs, chiefly the latter, who are natives here; most are well-favoured, especially the children and women. These last are said to be not very chaste. Traffic is mostly conducted by means of camels, mules, asses, and horses; of which there are great studs in the land; and being many and good, they are exported to Harmuz for the Indian trade.

When I came to Basorá there were many houses in ruin

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[1] Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Kil."—D. F.

[2] Note the final *r*, and *vide* note, p. 23, where the text has Rexe*l*. The cultivation of rice has fallen off of late years, and wheat and dates have replaced it, to the great improvement of the climate (*Persian Gulf Pilot*).

[3] "Lasán" is probably Al Hása, the province of Arabia surrounding Al Katíf.

[4] Presumably the fresh-water crayfish or *écrevisse* (*Astacus fluviatilis*), which is not very unlike a scorpion in shape, and equalled in size by many scorpions.

within and without the walls, which were being rebuilt very hastily. The reason was, that eight or ten days before, a magazine had caught fire, and five thousand odd leathern sacks of powder exploded, with such uproar, that men thought the end of the world was come. There was great damage in most of the city, which may have been here two centuries, and is now in its third site.[1] The Turks have held it now for over fifty years, to whom it was made subject by an Arab tyrant, who seized it, and claimed their protection.[2] As for the manners, dress, and customs of the folk, there is nothing to tell; because they are all Arabs and Turks, whose ways are well known. All gold and silver coins pass in this country for what they may be worth; but those struck there in the mint are of silver and copper. The silver coins are, first, the *larins*,[3] long money with both ends bent, worth sixty-five maravedis apiece; and secondly, round coins called *xays*,[4] of the shape and value of our *real sexillo*. This is of a lower standard than the other, which is very fine. There are here no buildings of importance. In the city, there are several public baths, very clean, and profitable. Their rule is to admit men up to noon, and women from noon to sunset; and if any should transgress the same of malice, he would be most severely punished. The canal, which is artificial, as I have said, runs far into the land, and from it are watered great fields, and an immense number of palm-groves. Ancient men assured me that it had once been

[1] The reference here is to one of the numerous slight shifts of site and reconstructions, to which Asiatic capitals are very liable, especially on alluvial plains. Teixeira was well aware of the shifts of Basra. He mentions the second site of it on p. 34, and the first on p. 35.

[2] This was in 1546 (see Couto, *Dec. VI*, Liv. IV, cap. v).—D. F.

[3] So called from the city of Lar, where they are said to have been first coined. They were worth at this time about tenpence. An illustrated note on the subject will be found in Mr. Gray's *Pyrard*, vol. i, p. 232. See also *infra*, Appendix C.—D. F.

[4] *Sháhis*, worth at this time about fourpence English (see *Letters Received by the E. India Co.*, vol. iii, p. 326).—D. F.

navigable to a point thirty leagues inland, whereof it now falls far short, but still is notable as the work of man's hand.

One day they took me up it, rather more than three leagues, to see a Xeque, or Lord, who held much of the country that I afterwards traversed. He was called Xeque Mahamed eben Raxet; a man for his presence and aspect worthy of that and of a better position. By means of an interpreter,[1] he spoke at large with me; showing great pleasure therein, for that he had never seen a Frank, as they call the Christians of Europe. He wondered at my dress, speech, and manners, which he considered with particular attention; and after great offers, and entertainment on a little ill-stewed goat's meat—which was no small favour—I took leave of him. Descending the river, which is really very pleasant, at a certain point I saw the Moors in my boat rise, and pray very reverently. I looked whither they faced in prayer, and saw on the shore a little house like a hermitage, and asked what it was. They said that it was dedicated to Içá ben Mariam, that is, Jesus, the son of Maria; and showed me much land and many palm-groves, assigned to its support and service. Whereat I wondered; for though I knew that the Moors honour him greatly and call him Ruyaláh, that is, "the Breath of God," I had never known them to dedicate a temple to him.[2]

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[1] This is one of the passages that indicate Teixeira to have had less Arabic than Persian. Later on, he seems to have less Turkish than Arabic.

[2] The very cool and cautious expression of this passage is worth noting. [Dr. Kayserling (*op. cit.*, p. 170, *n.*) quotes this statement of Teixeira's, and adds: "Without doubt these were remains of Christian communities, which had formed themselves at the time of the foundation of Christianity." Dr. Kayserling also says: "It is surprising that he does not mention the Jews of this city, who, in the time of Benjamin of Tudela, amounted to two thousand. If, however, we consider that the three thousand Jewish families who, only twenty years since, dwelt there, have now decreased to fifty, it is quite possible that their number

CHAPTER IV.

How I departed from Basorá by way of the desert, and my daily route until I came to Mexat Aly, a city in the same.

When I came to Basorá, I settled in the house of Santo Fonte, a Venetian merchant, in whose company I had come from Harmuz, meaning to make this journey in the same.[1] There were with us a country-born gentleman of India, called Diego de Melo de San Payo ;[2] and another Portuguese by name Juan Pinto,[3] a man in much esteem ; both of whom were more closely connected with Fonte than I.

When we came to arrange about our passage, we understood that we must wait at least four or five months ; for that the water was low in the Tigris then, and would be less daily until Christmas ; when it begins to increase with the first rains, and without them none can sail, for the many banks, and the thieves that get chances to attack the boats, and often do it. Nor can the boatmen tow the boats

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at the beginning of the seventeenth century was in like manner too inconsiderable for Teixeira to have anything to relate concerning them."—D. F.]

[1] In a letter of January 3rd, 1607 (in *Doc. Rem.*, tom. i), the King of Spain requests the Viceroy to send him dispatches twice a year by land, *viâ* Hormuz ; on each occasion by two distinct routes : one courier going from Basra to Suez and Alexandria, and thence by ship to Italy and France ; " the other by the territories of Bombareca along Persia, and arriving at Alepo and Alexandreta, where likewise are found ships for Venice and other ports of Italy ; and having also the chance of merchants : Venetians, who have their correspondents and factories in Ormuz, and are well-known and trustworthy men, some dispatch may be sent by means of them."—D. F.

[2] Regarding this man, who proved such a source of trouble to his companions, see foot-note to chap. xiv, *infra*.—D. F.

[3] This may possibly be the same João Pinto who is referred to in a marginal note to a Royal letter of December 15th, 1606 (*Doc. Rem.*, tom. i), as having married a daughter of Belchior Dias da Cruz, who was drowned some years previously in the Gulf of Venice, while carrying dispatches from India to the King.—D. F.

at low water, as they do for most of that voyage; which in flood takes from thirty-five to fifty days, and at low water about double that time. This happened to a *cafila*[1] of boats that left Basorá twenty-five days before our arrival; and spent three months in getting to Bagdad, with cost and worry enough.

Whilst I was in this perplexity, a *cafila* began to fit out for the land journey through the Arabian desert; by a route uncertain, and hitherto little in use. As I doubted of getting so speedy a chance by the river, I took counsel of such as might be able to give it about joining this *cafila*. They alleged many objections, in spite whereof I determined to do so, and for my greater convenience agreed with the captain of the *cafila*, who was an Arab Moor, dwelling near Basorá, called Agi Mahamed ben Faláh Atsany. My broker was one Mostafá, a Jew turned Turk, in whom the Portuguese and Venetian men of business put much faith. By his means it was agreed that for fifty ducats I should be carried to Bagdad, with my bedding and a little personal baggage, and have attendance and diet. This last, throughout the journey, was that of the natives, very scanty, foul, and irregular. It was, however, eked out by a bag of good biscuits and some boxes of preserved quinces, which the captain helped me to consume, with the better heart that they were not his own. I brought with me three bales of indigo, to meet my expenses. This he agreed to transport clear of all charges and dues whatever; and that turned out the best of my bargain: not as a mere matter of money, but as saving the annoyances that I saw others suffer, in the discharge of dues upon their persons and property.

When I was going to start, Diego de Melo determined to

[1] Though generally used (as by Teixeira below) as a synonym for "caravan," *cafila* was often applied by Portuguese writers to a convoy of ships or boats (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*).—D. F.

come in the same company, without awaiting that of Santo Fonte, who could not get away so soon, having brought much goods with him. I agreed to Diego's urgent request, arranging that he should go with Mostafá above mentioned, and we set forth. In all my arrangements I was much indebted to Geronimo bon Tempely, a Venetian merchant.

On the south of Basorá is a great open and level place called Maxarak, used as a market-place and general fair. Moreover, all the Moorish horsemen, who are many and expert, are wont to meet there on Fridays. This is their holy day, but they only observe it by this practice, and by a little more attendance in the mosques. They cease not from work and business on that day more than on another, making small scruple in respect of it.

On September the 2nd, with our friends' last compliments, we went forth to this place, or plain; whence the caravan, or *cafila*, was beginning to file off. We alone slept there that night, the first of many bad nights before us, waiting for my captain, who had not yet dispatched all his business. The next evening, Friday, the 3rd, we followed the rest: I on a camel, and my friend on horse-back.

We went about half a league through palm-groves, and then entered on desert plains, subject to flood, and covered with salt. This is produced by the heat of the sun, very great in those parts, from the sea-water of the Persian Gulf; which, though more than ten leagues distant, drowns these lands in certain conjunctions.[1] Whereby much of them, once fertile, has been desolated.

We rode along the top of a dyke, six or seven spans (*palmos*) high, and five wide, four leagues to our halting-place, which was called Drahemya, and lay amid the ruins of the second city of Basorà.[2] Of this some remains may

[1] The "*coniunciones*" appear to be spring-tides in August, when they are highest in the Persian Gulf (*Persian Gulf Pilot*).

[2] Now Zubair, or near it; the first Musalman Basra, founded after

yet be seen, as the walls of a great mosque, fragments of the rampart, and part of its ditch. To all appearance it was a great city. There are some wells of good water, and these lands are cultivated, yielding wheat, barley, and vegetables. Our course to-day was southward. We halted here the Saturday and Sunday, beginning to feel in the open air the heat of the sun, which at that place and season is immoderate.

On Monday, September the 6th, we moved off, weary enough of strife with the Arabs, agents of Xeque Mahamed eben Raxet, lord of those lands, and the same to whom I had been introduced, as above related ; who levy his dues on merchandize. When I saw how others were dealt with on that and other occasions, I held for well spent all what I had paid to the captain to be free of those vexations.

We started west-north-westwards, through lands wonderfully flat and barren, leaving on our left hand a very high mountain, six or seven leagues distant, and, in my opinion, about two in length. The Arabs call this Gibel Sinam, that is, Mount Sinam ; where of old was the first city of Basorá. They say that it has many waters, and that the *cafilas* from Basorá to Meka, which take that way, water there. Those lands, and nearly all hereabouts, are so flat that it seems as it were an isle in the sea.[1]

After a little more than two leagues' march, we halted at noon by some wells of cool and good water, in a plain full of colocynths, which the desert Arabs gather to

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the battle of Kadesía, "on a plain covered with white stones—whence the name"—by Otba, son of Ghazwán, Máziní ; a comrade of the Prophet, and chief of his own tribe, under the orders of the Caliph 'Umar. (Zotenberg's Tabarí, Pt. IV, chap. xlii. Tabarí is explicit as to the origin of the name, which I cannot verify further.)

[1] This mountain is in the modern maps, and it is only necessary to say that there is no confusion, in the Oriental mind, between it and Mount Sinai; nor does Teixeira seem to have made any. I am not aware of any other evidence about this oldest "Basra," but there is nothing improbable in the tradition of a great city's existence at the foot of Jabal Sinam.

make medicine of them, mixing them with camels' milk. They call this place Bragacya, or Cobrocya, that is, "the place of ducats." Here came all the *cafila* together, and, though little, it was of one-hundred-and-fifty camels, ninety-five donkeys, and twelve horses. Here we found some folk, who fled at sight of us, and who we learnt were poor Beduynes,[1] the poorest of Arabs, who wander in families through those deserts; naked, or clad in skins of beasts, by hunting which they live; such as deer, gazelles, wild asses, wolves, foxes, hares, etc.

At four in the afternoon we decamped, and marched in the same direction over plains, with many wells of good and sweet water, passing the ruins[2] of two great buildings, once the dwellings of such as tilled those lands, which are all called Choa bedeh. After two leagues more, we halted in a barren and waterless plain, to await a camel, which had fallen, and lagged behind with its load.

On Tuesday, the 7th, we marched, starting before daylight, through lands very level but very dry, with a terrible sun and high south wind that scorched us like fire. Our route was long, because, finding no water, we marched until noon, more than five leagues and a half. Our halt was in a plain called by the Arabs Reàmeláh, where were three wells of foul, thick, and brackish water; yet our great need and thirst made it sweet to us.

On this day, two camels fell with me thrice; wherefore the captain, to fit me better, bought of one of our company a good camel and an ass—and but ill he paid for them afterwards. Our course was north-north-west.

Wednesday, the 8th, an hour before dawn, we started westerly, and marched until one o'clock, after noon, over

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[1] "*Beduynes mesquinos*" = "Bedáwín Miskín," or something like it. *Miskín* is good Arabic for a pauper, and now commonly used in India for a pauper pilgrim to Mecca.

[2] Nameless "ruins" are shown on this route in Kiepert's map.

sands and very dry wastes. Having come about seven leagues, we rested in a plain called like the last Choâbedéh.

It was round as a threshing-floor, as if laid out by compass, and might be two leagues about. In the midst of it were eight cabins of such Beduynes as I have told of, covered with coarse goats'-hair blankets. Here were some wells of foul and fetid water, from one of which, with the water, we drew up a great venomous snake dead. All this day, there was a great and thick smoke north of us; which, we were told, lay over the banks of the River Euphrates, where the Arabs were burning the reed-beds for their sowings. That may have been two good days' march off our road, along all which we saw many hares and bush-rats. These are as big as our greatest common rats, grayish-white; their ears, fore-feet, and tail as of a rat, but the end of the tail, eyes, and head as of a rabbit, and their hind-legs like those of a gazelle. They move by jumps, and burrow like rabbits; there are plenty in this desert, and the Arabs eat them, and say they are very good.[1]

We marched hence at four in the afternoon, through somewhat rougher ground, about three leagues, and halted at sunset in a sort of vale, waterless, but with some dry grass, and many and great snakes; this place still coming under the name of Choâbedéh.

On Thursday, the 9th, we marched at dawn, some six or seven leagues through troublesome sand-hills, until mid-day, when we came to a stone well of clear and fresh water; but stinking so that we could scarce come nigh it. We thought that this was for want of light and motion, for that the well was some thirty fathoms deep; but I changed my mind on our drawing from it a lizard more than four palms long, and one thick: a hideous creature. The Arabs

[1] Jerboas, of course.

call this place Hheun, Hhyuná, and Ahen, all meaning Eyes.[1] On the way we found a great and fair gazelle, not long dead, and unwounded, which we took to have died of snake-bite; and a little beyond many ostrich feathers, which the camel-men carefully gathered up, for that they are much valued thereabouts. We saw many hares and bush-rats. We had kept a westerly course, and started again on the same at four in the afternoon; after about three leagues' march we halted in a great, salt, dry plain.

On Friday, the 10th, we marched two hours before dawn, west-south-west through lands like yesterday's. After three leagues' journey we got into great sand-hills, with a few bushes: such bad travelling, that from that, and the intolerable heat and want of water, several camels and asses died, and we were almost at the last gasp. At one o'clock, we came to an open spot, lying under a high sand-dune, full of colocynths, and called by the Arabs Hhynigha. Therein were Arab thieves set, who took themselves off when they found the *cafila* on its guard. There were many wells, but all choked and full of mud. We cleared them a little, and all, at a depth of a fathom, or one, two, or three cubits, yielded plenty of good, sweet, clear water, wherewith we satisfied and provided ourselves, praising God, who had bid it spring there for our help, who came thither scarce alive. That day we had come some eight leagues, fit to count for fourteen, so bad was the way, and such the heat, our hunger and thirst, and our fear of the Arab thieves, ever ranging the desert, and lurking for prey near every watering-place.

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[1] "*Ojos.*" The Arabic word is *'Ain*, plural *'Ayún*, and *does* mean "eye;" and also, "fountain" or "spring." This last does not seem to be a regular meaning of the modern Castilian *ojo*; but it is yet a dictionary meaning of the Portuguese *olho*.—This is a stupid note, but necessary, as we shall have the word again and again; and as Stevens, by a quaint slip, applies the Arabic name to the ugly lizard!

Nor spare they one another, between clan and clan; wherefore the caravans, or *cafilas*, ever keep in pay, as ours did, some Arabs, of such tribes as they may meet, to secure good usage; and as guides of the ways and watering-places.

Without that, there is no passage; and no less than the fear of our foes was that of our own company, for that those folk are faithless, treacherous, and covetous to the last degree. And, as they think all Franks (that is, European Christians) to be very rich, they never lose sight of them; seeking devices to plunder, and sometimes to slay them.

God be praised, who delivered ourselves from their treasons that they brewed against us; and especially against Diego de Melo of our company, who brought on himself many and serious annoyances, by his air of dignity and reserve, and requirements of special service. All travellers in these parts should avoid the like; to attract as little as may be the eyes of the Arabs, who seldom put them to good use, but in hope of their own gain.

So came we to this place, beyond which we ventured not that day, and so halted there for the night. Yet had we in advance certain Jews of the caravan with an Arab, whom in such case the captain used to give them for escort, in return for certain services due at the end of the trip. These go ahead, that they may rest on their Sabbath (when they may not march) without falling in rear of the caravan.

On Saturday, the 11th, after resting most of the day by those wells, we marched at five o'clock in the evening, north-westwards for about two leagues, and halted before sunset to await a laggard camel.

On Sunday, the 12th, we marched three hours before sunrise, west-north-westward, over very level ground, with some hillocks, all good, but waterless. After a league and half, we found some wells of good water; and at eleven of

the morning, we came to the channel of a dry river, which has, they said, much water in winter; and so I supposed from its size and position.

There stands there yet an old fort, square, with twelve bastions, three of a side,[1] all well built of burnt brick and mortar. About seventy paces outside it was a little *alcoran*,[2] ten cubits high, which had evidently been higher, of like material and construction. All this was already much the worse for wear, yet no less than a royal work for its excellence, and for that, in that place, its erection must have been very difficult, costly, and toilsome.

It was built by an Arab king, a forefather of my Xeque Mahamed eben Raxet, to secure the *cafilas* passing this way, before the Turks occupied Bagdad and Basorá. The Arabs call it Alkayçar, or Kayçar, that is, "the palace or house of Cæsar," for so they call all buildings of kings or princes. It is half-way between Basorá and Mexat Aly, whither we were bound.[3]

We found in the bed of that river some wells of clear and fresh water, but of intolerable stench—had not our need overborne it. We had marched about eight leagues, and halted here until four o'clock in the evening, when we marched three leagues more, and encamped at sunset. Five camels of the caravan died that day, worn out; and all the rest of the company took their flesh to eat, and asked us to share; but we would not, though our victual was failing already.

On Monday, the 13th, we started three hours before day,

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[1] Meaning, of course, one to each angle, and two on each curtain.

[2] A minaret, as Teixeira explains hereafter. (*Vide* query in *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 755.)

[3] "Tell Kesroeh" (Tal Kasrawí) appears on Kiepert's map about half-way between Basra and Mashad Ali, on the authority, apparently, of Chesney. The godfather is as likely to have been a Persian Khusru as a Roman Cæsar, or more so; and probably Shaikh Muhammad's grandfather made use of bricks from some ancient ruin on the spot.

and went through low lands, subject to the flood of the Euphrates, which is a short day's march distant; salt, stony, and in places jungly; heading north-west. After about seven leagues' march, we halted amid uneven sands to await some laggard camels, whereof one died; to recover whose load we stayed there that night. We had water on our right hand, eastwards, at little over half a league; which some went to try, but when it was drawn we had small joy of it, for though it was clear and bright, it was salt as the sea.

On Tuesday, the 14th, one hour before sunrise, we marched north-westwards over the like country. At eleven, having made about six leagues, we halted in a plain, half a league from some wells lying amid the ruins of a great old city; whereof are left now but those wells, a few palms, and some remnants of buildings. It is called Sayda, and by the Arabs Hayun Sayda, that is, "the eyes or springs of Sayda."[1] The water was indifferent, but better than yesterday's. We marched again at four in the afternoon, and, having made about three leagues, we halted.

On Wednesday, the 15th, we took the road two hours before dawn, heading north-west; and after one hour's march we saw in the east a great fire, which all the company declared to be the work of thieving Beduyne Arabs. The land was not level, as of late, but uneven. We marched six leagues, and halted at ten in the morning in a place called by the Arabs Kalb al Sor, that is, "the Bull's Heart,"[2] where was one well of foul and stinking water. Here was made prisoner a certain Arab, on the warning of a pilot of the *cafila*, that he was a spy of a clan of those parts, who had come with us from Basorá, that he might advise them hence, when to come and rob us. He defended himself

[1] For the etymology, see above, p. 38, note. "Ain Saida" is on Kiepert's map, in a suitable position.

[2] The translation is correct, but the place is not on my maps.

firmly, denying the charges; but, after all, to make all safe, they brought him on to Mexat Aly, bound and well guarded.

The same day, before four in the afternoon, we started again, and marched until sunset, four leagues through the like country. We halted in a convenient place, in better order than hitherto; bringing all our men, camels, and other beasts within a leaguer of piled baggage, and lying all upon our arms.

Four men, brought in pay of the *cafila* for that duty, kept strict guard all night, with fires, against the thieves that prowled about that place, and against lions, which are not wanting there. Already that evening one had attacked a man of our company, but by the grace of God hurt him not. Whereby also, though there are so many in those lands, we saw few, and those not close at hand.

On Thursday, the 16th, we set out three hours before sunrise. Having marched a little more than two leagues, we descended into a great ravine, wherein during winter flows a fierce torrent that the Arabs called Hhanega, that is, "the Drowning."[1] It would seem that the loss of some men or beasts gave it this name. It has some trees and green grass. After about eight leagues' march north-westwards, we rested at noon in a green place, with some shade of bushes and reed-beds, and wells of good water: the Arabs call it Semat.[2] At 3 P.M. we started again, and marched until ten at night through rough country, dry and stony, about five leagues. All that day we saw many herds of wild asses.

On Friday, the 17th, we took the road two hours before daylight, and just before dawn we had an alarm of fifty Arab thieves, on five-and-twenty camels, ahead

[1] Perhaps "the Choker" would be a closer rendering; but the sense of the text is clear.

[2] This is on Kiepert's map.

of us. So they go commonly in that desert, two on each camel.

Before an attack they dismount at a little distance, leave their camels hobbled, by securing one knee in a bent position, and then advance to the attack. Their usual arms are lances, bows, swords, shields and *caniales*, which are great broad, crooked daggers.[1] They have also many horsemen.

Our *cafila* got under arms; being about forty bowmen, twelve musketeers, four mounted lancers, and a few with other arms of close fight. The thieves passed on without halt. We were afraid that they went but to seek reinforcements, as being themselves too few for the venture; but they came not again. For all that we marched on the look-out, and in the best order we could keep. The best armed took the vanguard, and went prancing and shouting war-songs, to encourage themselves in their own defence, and that of the company. This morning's march was forced, and lay for three or four leagues in sight of a great lake,[2] a backwater of the river Euphrates. We were so fearful of thieves, and so worn with the way, heat and cold, hunger and thirst, that every trifle disquieted us. So, seeking a watering-place to rest in, and coming towards it, we saw there some folk, and made sure that they were thieves. Then we all made ready for fight, but one of our Arab pilots kicked up his gray mare, and at marvellous speed joined those people in an instant, recognised them, and returned to say that they were Beduyne hunters encamped there for water. (The Arabs, I should say, prefer mares to horses in use, as swifter and safer, and

[1] "*Caniales*" is evidently formed from *khánjar*, and the description is of that dagger well known in India, wherever Arab soldiers go, as *jambíya*.

[2] "*Laguna*." I have avoided using the English form "lagoon" for fresh water, out of respect to modern custom. The lake, or marsh, is marked on Kiepert's map as Rumyah.

more easily fed in the desert than stallions.) The water was a spring in a great dry river-bed, which the Arabs call Utcèla.[1] It was plentiful and good; the place green and shady, with good trees, reed-beds, rushes and other plants. We got to it about 1 P.M., having marched six miles.

At 3 P.M. we marched again, leaving the Jews behind, for that next day was their Sabbath; and, having made three leagues by sunset, halted in a waterless plain.

On Saturday, the 18th, we marched two hours before day, north-westward, over plains, at two leagues from the backwater. At 1 P.M. we came to the northern head of it, after eight leagues' march through tilled fields, bearing wheat, barley, cotton and vegetables, thanks to a little stream of fresh water running through them, though the land in general is desert like the rest.

Since morning we had held Mexat Aly in sight, for it stands on high land, over and east of the lake. Wherefore it seemed the nearer to us, specially to Diego de Melo, who must needs get ahead of us to rest, which cost him his horse, foundered by haste and heat, and he himself fell sick afterwards. Here were fresh water and green grass, but no shade from the sun, which smote us with dreadful force. We made shift as best we might; and I worse than many, for I could not eat of a rice-stew that my captain had provided, full of grease taken from the camels that had died on our way, and my saddle-bags were now but empty; wherefore patience must serve me until night, and even then we fared no better.

We left this place at three in the afternoon, somewhat forcing the pace along the lake, betwixt it and the foot of the flanking cliffs. We headed north, east, and south in

[1] Kiepert has "el Athy" in a suitable position, and perhaps it is the place.

succession,[1] and after about six leagues' journey, one hour after dark, we came to Mexat Aly. To reach the town we had to climb a high and rough hill, at the foot of which many men and boys welcomed all of us in general, and especially their own kinsfolk and acquaintance.

On that day, while the caravan rested at the head of the lake, I was in the mess of one Xeque Alaby, a great friend of mine, who complained that his saddle-camel was very lame of a forefoot; and that, because of its good paces, he should be much vexed if it could not hold out for the journey. He had scarce done speaking, when they brought the camel to him, with one of the Arab pilots. They cast it, and the pilot took up its foot to see what was there, and found a great and deep fistula, very painful. This he cleaned out with an iron, extracting much gravel and mud, and filled it with cotton and burnt rags. Then he took a piece of leather, sufficient to cover the foot, and sewed it to the sole with alternate stitches, just as the sole is stitched to a woman's shoe, so cleverly that I wondered at him. Hereby the camel could both go and mend, without further injury. I have recorded this to show what the most barbarous folk can learn from necessity.

The lake already mentioned is fed by the river Euphrates, whose waters run naturally hither, in flood. In the rainy season, they are swollen by much water from that desert, and form here as it were a great sea; whereof the water-marks bear witness, showing a difference of fifty palms between high-water-mark and the level at which I saw it, in the season of least water. This lake is of no regular form, but has various arms; and is, on the whole, rather long than otherwise. It may be thirty-five or forty

[1] Necessarily, as they were now rounding the head of the backwater, here amounting to a lake, which lies north-west and south-east. They had marched up the south-west side, and had to make Mashad Ali, on the north-eastern corner.

leagues about, and six in greatest breadth. There is a pass in the middle where it is fordable to camels at low water, as when I saw it. All the rest is deeper. The water flows in fresh, but, as the soil is saline, it, too, turns salt. And, as the heat of the sun is extreme, much salt is produced by its power alone, here and at Bagdad. In flood-time, it is fresher than at low water. It has plenty of fish, great and small; wherefore there are innumerable waterfowl that live thereon, and find shelter on the numerous islets. The Arabs call this lake Rahemáh.

We entered Mexat Aly, as I have said, on Saturday, the 18th,[1] one hour after nightfall. Because it was late, the whole *cafila* unloaded in a *khan*, or *karoanceró*,[2] as they call certain places built to shelter *cafilas* and travellers. These are built like the cloister of any of our monasteries: divided into cells, each with its door and key, and cooking-place; but one common place for natural purposes. Some have a well in the centre, and others a place for the beasts. There are some that can hold three or four hundred men. Some are free, for the love of God, being built to that end by rich Moors; only it is the custom to make a present to the keeper. In others there are fees charged, but very moderate. The like are also in India, called *chales*,[3] but not so well built and clean. Those of the town are as described, but those in the open country have no partitions.

This *khan* was great; and, although in bad repair, had evidently been built with care and cost. Here we slept, and the night was no easier than those gone by. For the place was foul, stony, uneven, ill-sheltered, and unfit for rest, especially in our worn-out condition, as was well seen; for some of the men fell sick, and not a few of the

[1] Of September, 1604.

[2] Caravanserai.

[3] Our "Dharamsálas"; the Bombay "Chawls," though of similar etymology, are simply large houses let out in rooms, or set of rooms, o tenants.

beasts died. We supped on dates, sour milk, and water, which had been sent as a present to my captain: no great meal for me, who had been all day almost fasting, for my special biscuits had given out. Needs must I bear all with patience, which on such ways is the first and most needful provision.

Diego de Melo and Mustafá, his companion, who had gone ahead and got good lodging in another *khan*, came to look me up at daybreak; and after salutes and embraces, as if we had been long apart, they asked me to take quarters with them. I would not, without express permission of my captain, to avoid cause of complaint. They pressed for it, and got it; and I joined them, and was with them until we left the place.

Mexat Aly, or Mam Aly, which means the same thing, that is, "Aly's mosque, or temple," was founded about one thousand years ago, at the time of his death. He was cousin[1] and son-in-law to Mahamed. They commonly call him Mortz Aly; and his sectaries (mortal enemies of the Sunis, who are of the Turks' persuasion) relate of him, his victories and valour, many feats and miracles, fit subject for laughter, or rather for tears. These, as here out of place, and already recorded by many, I dismiss, to tell of the city. The inhabitants say that Aly was treacherously slain by his own man, whom he had reared from childhood,[2] in Kufa, a place not far from this, now clean wasted. When they had washed and anointed his body, as they are wont, they put it, according to his dying direction, on a camel, which they left to take its own

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[1] "*Sobrino*," meaning more literally nephew.

[2] He was cut down in the mosque of Kufa by Abdul Rahman, son of Muljam, whose tribe does not appear; but he was no dependent of Ali's. (Zotenberg's Tabarí, Pt. IV, chap. cvi. Tabarí has not got the story of the camel, but says, shortly, that Ali was buried in the palace at Kufa, which is about ten English statute miles from Mashad Ali, and waste, as Teixeira says.)

way, following it in view, to see where it stopped. At last it rested in this desert, for desert it is to the last degree.

Then those who followed came to it at once; and built here a tomb for the corpse. This, with time, and the devotion and frequentation of his worshippers and sectaries, was so enriched with gifts, that there grew up a temple and *alvoran*, very rich, and fairly wrought enough. But now, with the decline of that sect and doctrine, the attendance and offerings fail; and the building has suffered not a little in appearance and condition.

As they held the land for hallowed by that interment, there was such resort of men there, that by degrees there grew up a city; which, at its best, not over fifty or sixty years ago, had from six to seven thousand houses.[1] Most of these were great and well built, as their ruins bear witness to this day, when it hath not over five hundred inhabited, and those mostly poor and ill-furnished. Some inhabitants told me that it had declined in every way after the death of Xa Thamás,[2] king of Persia, who favoured the place greatly.

It was surrounded by a wall, now breached in a thousand places, built, as were the mosque and houses, of burnt brick and mortar. There is no water but of wells, and that brackish. Such as must have it sweet fetch it from an aqueduct, which Sultan Selim, the Grand Turk, opened up from the Euphrates for three leagues, with great cost and trouble. But when we came there, we could not drink of it, for that the aqueduct was foul and choked up, and under its annual clearance. There is great scarcity of wood, and all things needful are

[1] Mashad Ali is supposed to represent the ancient Hira, and that again an older Alexandria (Kiepert's and D'Anville's maps). Of course, when an Oriental conqueror sacks a town, and squats in the ruins, it is not long before his tribe give him founder's honours.

[2] In 1576 A.D.

imported: as sheep, fowls, wheat, barley, fruit and vegetables. The common diet is of dates, curdled milk made into cheese, and round cakes of wheat or barley. There is plenty of fish in the lake, but they use little of it.

The people are mostly white, but all ill-conditioned. No Jew nor Christian may dwell among them, for they bear mortal hate to these, and no less to all Moors not of their own sect. They value themselves much on observing its rule, so strictly, that they hold it for sin to talk and deal with others; and if they have to take anything handled by such, they have a thousand ceremonies, and raise many objections.

There are yet visible some ruins of *sucos*[1] (which were marts), vaulted, as usual in towns thereabouts, and lighted with windows; so well built as to prove the past glory of the city.

In the mosque or temple, where is, they say, the body of Aly, there are things of price; and especially three great lamps of gold, richly bejewelled, presented by different princes.

This land is subject to the Turk; and its lord, an Arab king, pays him tribute. There is usually a garrison of fifty Turks; but these, at the time of our stay, were all away, called off to Bagdad by reason of the Persian war. In their absence the natives were so masterless and unruly, that they committed a thousand violences and outrages, without fear or shame.

After four days' rest we started anew, except some of that neighbourhood, who stayed there, three hours before sunrise of Thursday, the 23rd; and marched north-westwards over very level but desert land. The road was one in use, and we met footmen and horsemen, and droves of

[1] Further on spelt *succos*. It represents the Arabic *súk*=market-place.—D. F.

camels and asses. At half-past eleven o'clock,[1] having come about seven leagues, we halted in a *karoancerό*, or *khan*; ancient, but great and well built. In a plain near it was a fine well of very good water, and at two gunshots off fifteen huts or tents of Arabs, with many camels. About three leagues before this we had seen, half a league from the route, a great building with a high tower, where are the tomb and body of the holy prophet Ezechiel,[2] whom the Moors and Jews call Ezkhel. It is held in the highest respect by all; no less for his life and holiness, than for the miracles which they say God has wrought here through His servant.

While we were in this *khan*, which the Arabs call Esegél, Diego de Melo fell sick of a fever, which he had already felt in Aly. He had to ride on a camel—both for ease and because his horse was yet unserviceable.[3] He was unused to much hardships, having grown up much at his ease and pleasure, as do all those born in India; and was exceedingly sorry for himself. It pleased God that two blood-lettings and some cool drinks set him all right again.

We started hence at 3 P.M., and marched northwards, over flat, hard sands, six leagues. At sunset we halted near another *karoancerό*, called by the Arabs Geneza,[4] in a fair though dry plain, near a great well of clear and good water.

On Friday, the 24th, at two hours after midnight, we started on a forced march over very bare sands. At day-

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[1] This is an uncommon phrase with our traveller, who seldom deals in fractions of an hour.

[2] This tomb of Ezekiel is on *some* modern maps, though not in Kiepert's. The identification of Ezkhel is all right; and the Beni Israel of Kolaba have, or had lately, what seems to us an odder form: "Haskel." "Esegél," the name of the khan, is the same word; *i.e.*, the khan and the neighbourhood probably take their name from the tomb. [See description of tomb by I. J. Benjamin, *op. cit.*, p. 158.—D. F.]

[3] It may be remembered that Diego overrode his horse into Mashad Ali.

[4] Ghaneiza of Kiepert.

break we saw the town of Mexat Oçem, but came not to it until nine o'clock, after seven leagues' march on a north-west course. When we got into the city, we halted in a free *khan*, whereof there are many there, and well built.

CHAPTER V.

Mexat Oçen[1] and its foundation, and how we went thence, across the River Euphrates and Mesopotamia, seeing the site of Babylon; crossed the Tigris, and entered the city of Bagdad that is thereon.

MEXAT Oçem, or Mam Oçem, that is, "the mosque of Oçem," is an open town of more than four thousand houses, many of them well designed in the country fashion, but all of poor construction. The inhabitants are native Arabs, and Turks sent to control that territory, of whom none were then there, but all gone to Bagdad to the war. For the same reason, many Agemis,[2] or Persians, had left the town, not thinking themselves safe there while war should last between their nation and the Turks. The natives of Mexat Oçem are all Rafazis, or Xyahys,[3] like those of Aly; and therefore mortally hate all other sects and laws, as well of Moors as of Christians and Jews. None of these two last live in the land; and if one but chance to pass through it, he is very ill-looked on. The markets are all well vaulted, and all things needful are abundant, as is merchandize: for that many merchants of various countries meet there.

[1] Karbala, or Mashad Husain, is rightly translated "Husain's Mosque." "Mam," of course, stands for the martyr's title of Imám [though Teixeira appears to consider it a synonym for *mashad* (mosque).—D. F.]

[2] See note, Appendix C, *infra*.—D. F.

[3] *I.e.*, *Ráfizis* or *Shiahs*. Properly, the term *Ráfizi* should be confined to a particular sect of *Shiahs*, but it is often used, as here, for the whole body.—D. F.

There is a mosque, with its *alcoran*, dedicated to Oçem, the son of Aly, who is buried here. And as, in this formerly desert place, many were wont to die of thirst,[1] therefore the Moors, and especially those of that sect, hold it for a good work to give water for the love of God to all who ask; and many go with water-skins and clean brazen cups through the streets, giving drink to the thirsty without asking money, though they do not refuse it if offered.

The mosque and *alcoran*, like those of Aly, are notable for their size, beauty and cost. And though they be less ancient than his by but few years, founded in the same way, and increased by the devotion of the Xyais, they show much better. The material is brick and mortar, with some curious glazed tiles, and some mosaic work.

This city is well and cheaply supplied with wheat, barley, rice, vegetables, fruit, and meat. The climate is milder than in those lands whence we had just come. There are some public wells of good water; plenty of trees, and of European fruits. The land is watered by a canal, filled from the Euphrates, which is eight leagues away in time of flood. There are many herds and flocks, fed on the neighbouring pastures, chiefly on certain low plains, which, by reason of the rainwater that they collect in winter, remain green and grassy all the rest of the year.

At the end of the town next the Euphrates are two great square reservoirs, which seem, by reason of the remains of rooms and galleries around them, to have served as cool places of resort and entertainment. They are very capacious, and at present the canal water is stored there, and serves them during most of the time that the common supply fails.

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[1] Husain (son of Ali, son of Abi Taleb, by Fatima, daughter of the Prophet) and his men suffered fearfully from thirst during his last fight at Karbala, at the end of which he was murdered by the victors (see, for a decent old authority, Zotenberg's Tabarí, vol. iv, p. 35, *et seq.*). Teixeira records this in the *Kings of Persia*, Bk. II, chap. iii.

This city and Mexat Aly are subject to Mir Naçer, an Arab king, vassal to the Turk, who lives upon those lands. For all that, while I was there, there were sold in public the well-trapped horses, clothes, and arms of thirty or forty Turks, slain and despoiled by Arabs of that very city; for it was mostly in revolt, by reason of the Persian war, and consequent withdrawal of the Turkish garrison, wherefore they had nothing left to fear. They use commonly camels, horses, asses, and pack-bullocks. The people are of fair complexion and tolerable appearance, but not extravagant in dress. Most of the men go on horseback. This town, like that of Aly, is very short of wood, wherefore they burn mostly the dry dung of oxen and camels.

My captain was about to wed, in this city, a woman of the best family there, and of his own clan; and alighted at his bride's house, which was new and well ordered, and very convenient for his camels and establishment. I, myself, Diego de Melo, his companion Mustafa, and many of our caravan, took up quarters in a *khan* or *karoancerò*; whence my captain sometimes carried me to dine at his house, with his kith and kin, on his wedding victuals. These were dirty cakes, ill-made, and worse cooked, a little rice, and meat with its broth — God knows how cooked—dates, and some fruit, not of the best; all served on the floor, on a round sheet of leather. But our great piece of civilisation was that each had his own spoon. For it is common amongst the Arabs of the open country to have but one spoon among ten or twelve, and each in order takes his spoonful, waiting for the others until his turn comes round.

Yet what they offer is of honest goodwill; and herein were the Arab better than many other folks, that he gives freely of his bread to every comer that needs it, were not that custom mingled with other and ill uses that altogether obscure it.

Whilst we were here there came from Bagdad officers of the Customs, charged to forward thither the merchants with their goods, of whom many were very unwilling. But at last they set out, on Wednesday, the 29th of September. Very few remained, and we amongst these, because our captain found us no camels. For his own had come up in such condition that speedily five died, and the rest were unserviceable: and he such a mean miser that he would not hire others.

We remained here eight days, under annoyance enough; and in chief because there were billeted in the same *khan* forty *segmenes*[1] with their officer. These are arquebusiers, not Turks, but in the Turk's employ; from whom we feared some violence. And we had good cause, for they are a loose folk, and disorderly, fearing neither God, king, nor law. When they had the route (having only halted here), there came to me a Moor, and I do not know why he chose me rather than another of the three of us. But in Persian he bade me beware, for that the *segmenes* meant to have away with them both my comrades' horses, or one at least. I thanked him much, and warned my friends, and we sent the horses to our captain's quarters, where they were well put up; and we stayed in the *khan*, much on our guard, until the *segmenes* took themselves off.

We few folk who remained of the caravan, seeing our time wasted, pressed the captain so hard that he gave way,

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[1] Vide Persian = "dog," *saghán*, "dog-keeper," *sagman*, "[illegible]," or kennel establishment. Redhouse says: "*Saghhán* [illegible], formerly a soldier of a particular corps of the Janissaries, next a soldier of some regiments organised in the European style, and, latterly, a sort of irregular police soldier" (*Turkish* [illegible]). Probably the imperial huntsmen were always a sort of household troops, more or less irregular, or supposed to be especially good light troops, like "chasseurs" and "Jägers." The last Indian prince of the [illegible] told me that *his* were the only troops he had worth trusting.

and prepared to accompany us, upon the persuasion of his brother-in-law, a chief man, and of high repute and worth, and of others connected with him.

When collected and prepared, we set out from Mexat Oçem for Bagdad on Saturday, the 2nd of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, not without fear of thieves, for that we were few, and that road as much used by them as by travellers. We went most of that march along the canal above-mentioned, whose water fertilizes all those lands lying within its command, which are considerable. The canal may be three fathoms and a half wide, and one and a half deep. In its bed, now dry, were some wells of good water; and thereby, cut in the banks, drinking-troughs for the beasts. There were also therein certain boats, like those of Baçorá, called *danecas*,[1] pitched with *quir*, that is, the bitumen of Hyt, on the Euphrates; which is drawn liquid from two wells there, but afterwards becomes very hard. They use these on the canal, when it holds water. On that day we marched over good and level land, much of it cultivated; chiefly under cotton, a common crop thereabouts. After eight leagues we came, at five in the evening, to a great, strong, and clean *khan*, truly a royal work, and very spacious. It lay near the river Euphrates, which flows there very smoothly.[2] As it was now the end of summer, the water was low. It was too late in the day for us to cross the river, and we halted on the bank, keeping a good look-out for thieves, of whom there is no lack thereabouts.

At sunrise on Sunday, the 3rd of October, we crossed

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[1] See *supra*, p. 29.—D. F.

[2] This is the passage of "Moseyb," or Musaib. On a beautiful map, dated 1865, and signed by Lieut. Bewsher, late I.N., there is a bridge of boats shown here, with some large building on the west bank. It looks rather like a fortified *tête-de-pont*, but may very well be Teixeira's khan, or occupy its site. Caravanserais often *are* very defensible fortresses in a small way.

the river in two ferry-boats, paying per head or parcel one *maydin*, a silver coin worth eleven maravedis.[1] For all our haste, the company and goods were not all over before ten o'clock of the morning.

The river, everywhere tortuous, runs here from north to south, and we crossed it against the sun. The water was very muddy; and the boatmen told me that where we crossed the depth was over thirty fathoms. It breeds plenty of good fish. The Arabs and Persians call it Forat,[2] and the Hebrews Parat. At that time of year it may be two hundred paces wide, but in flood much more; rising four to six cubits, and over. Its waters are held for very pure, and used for the irrigation of many fields and gardens.

We got on to the Mesopotamian side of the river, climbed its high bank, and reached another *khan*, set over the river. It was weaker, smaller, and worse built than that opposite, but gave good shelter; and stood amidst the ruins of an old city called Meçayehb,[3] whereof to-day remains nought but the name and some old walls. But there are many gardens, abounding in vegetables, palms, and some European fruits. For they draw water from the river, though running far below, with engines of leather worked by oxen: a cheap, easy, and profitable device. Yet better are the water-wheels, whereby the current of the river raises its own water, as much and as high as they please, used along most of the banks.

As you ascend the river there are many towns. The most famous are Gedida and Hyt; the latter for the *quir* or bitumen, already mentioned, which the Indian Portuguese call *quile*, and use it to staunch the water tanks that they have in their ships in place of casks. Then follow Hadyta, Haluz, Iuba (full of fair women), Mamura,

[1] "That is," says Stevens, "about three Halfpence."
[2] Furát.—D. F. [3] Musaib.—D. F.

Ana, and many others ;[1] to Byra, near Aleppo. About two hours' march down stream of us lay Héla, an ancient town of the region whither the Israelites went captive into Babilonia. The fields thereof in Mesopotamia, near the river Euphrates, are all cut up with water channels, whereby grow many willows; and these are the rivers mentioned by the Psalmist.[2]

Having rested in Moçayehb until seven in the afternoon, we entered on the lands of Mesopotamia, which are of various condition, but with no great eminence Heading northwards, we left Old Babylon two leagues on our right hand, whereof are now few traces; and the place is least frequented of all that region, that the prophecy may be fulfilled in respect of it.[3]

Forcing our march, we passed, at five in the evening, a new, fair, and strong *khan*, built in a place where thieves are likely to be found, the ground favouring them. For there are many little hills, lying one over against the other, so as to be very convenient for ambushes and onslaughts. This *khan* was built, for the love of God, by a Turkish lady, wife of a chief of the Customs in Bagdad.[4] We halted not here, but pushed on at the same speed to another *khan* called Berenús; that is "the half-way house,"

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[1] In this passage our traveller speaks chiefly "from information he received," and not as an eye-witness: for instance, of the beauty of the ladies of Juba. The towns are put out of their proper order, and the whole passage is of little value. "Hyt" is modern Hit, and ancient Is, and the bitumen is brought thence even now.

[2] Psalm cxxxvii, 2. Some modern botanists have supposed this tree, called *garab* in the Psalm, to be *Populus Euphratica*, the *bhán* of the Indus (C. Koch, *Dendrologia*, vol. ii, p. 507; *apud* Brandis, *Forest Flora*, p. 465). Linnæus had adopted our author's view, and called the weeping willow *Salix Babylonica*, in accordance with tradition. Héla, of course, is the modern Hillah. [Cf. Dr. Kayserling's note on this passage of Teixeira, *op. cit.*, p. 155.—D. F.]

[3] Isaiah xiv, 19 ff., according to Dr. Kayserling (*op. cit.*, p. 153, *n.*). —D. F.

[4] Probably Khan Mizrakji of Kiepert and Rich. The latter says that it was named after "a Bagdad merchant who founded it."

for that it stands half-way between the rivers.[1] It is a noble building, strong and spacious, and therein were ten or twelve Turkish horse regularly posted there for the help of passengers. Opposite it is another and ancient *khan*, where some poor families shelter themselves, who have a few fields thereabout. In this are some wells of indifferent water used by them, and by *cafilas* and travellers, for want of others in that place. At one musket-shot beyond is another *khan* or *karoancerò*, old and ruined.[2] The distance from the Euphrates is about eight leagues.

On Monday, October 4th, at two o'clock A.M., we marched northwards, pressing the pace through varying country, now dry, now abounding in pasture, whereon were great herds of cattle of all sizes, camels, horses, and others; watered from many wells, especially from two that we saw, very well built, with brick parapets and great stone troughs. And these were the first stones that we saw between Mexat Aly and Bagdad. At sunrise we saw that part of Bagdad which is in Mesopotamia, first of all the *alcoranes*, which, being very lofty, and the land pretty level, are visible at four leagues' distance. From the end of the second league, right up to the city, we found all along both sides of the road great stores of burnt bricks, square and weatherworn, above ground and in pits, which

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[1] "Bir-un-nous (incorrectly for *nisf*), *i.e.*, The Well of the Half-way" (Rich, *Babylon and Persepolis*, London, 1839, p. 179). It is Bir Enus of Bewsher's map, and Biranus of Kiepert's. It is not exactly half-way between Bagdad and Hilla, or Karbala, but might pass for it, in either case; hardly for half-way "between the rivers." Rich refers it to the Hillah Road.

[2] Bewsher's map does not show the second and third khans of "Bir Enus," unless they are represented by mounds. But it does show irrigation and cultivation near the existing khan. P. Della Valle went over the same route in 1616, on his way to and from Babylon and Hillah (Letter No. 17, from Bagdad, December 10th to 23rd of that year). His story agrees very closely with Teixeira's.

I mention in advance of what I shall have to say about Bagdad.

And, for that I have several times mentioned the *alcoranes*, I will describe them for such as know not what they are. The Moors have these buildings in their mosques, as we have lofty belfries in our churches, and they are of various construction, but commonly like a ship's mast, cylindrical to the top,[1] which is a circular gallery, and above that, like the top-mast, shorter and more slender. Within is a staircase up to the gallery, whence, at regular hours, thrice in the day, and twice in the night, the *mulás*, who are Moors charged with that public duty, raise a loud and musical chant. And what they say is: "God is great, and there is none like him. He is one, and I believe and bear witness to the same, and that Mahamed is his messenger." And besides this, which is the essential matter never omitted, they make additions, inciting the people to the praise of God.[2] And for that their Book is called *Koran* or *Alkoran*, the same name is given to the place whence it is set forth, whereof in these lands are some very magnificent and costly.

We got into the Mesopotamian quarter of Bagdad at 1 P.M. But, before our arrival, I was welcomed by a young German, an old Indian acquaintance, already advised of the *cafila's* arrival, and that I was in it. He was called Diego Fernandes, a native of Hamburg, where his right name was Joachim Ozemkroch. He had reached Bagdad seven days before, three months out of Basorá by boat on the river. Knowing of my coming, by one Jafar, a renegade, who had come ahead of the caravan from Oçem, he had written me a letter that I never got. In this he had expressed his wonder at my route (for the renegade

[1] *Gabia* = "a top," in sailors' technical language; that is, the little platform at the masthead, not the very summit.

[2] *E.g.*, in the call to night prayers: "Prayer is better than sleep."

got it into his head that I was going by one less usual and more perilous), and had warned me of the insecurity and troubles of the roads, caused by the wars of Aleppo.

We met, as I have said, near the gate, and I went to his house; where, and on my journey to Aleppo, which we made together, he rendered me many services. Whereby is well seen how well worth while it is to do a good turn when you can; for that after so long a time, and when I least thought of it, I had so advantageous a return for the little service that I had done to this young man.

Along with him I crossed the river, and entered the city on the other side, about three o'clock in the afternoon, having marched ten leagues that day.[1]

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning the City of Bagdad.

THE famous city of Bagdad[2] is set on the river Tigris, which the natives call Digiláh, or Diguyláh, as are Sevilla and Triana on the Guadalquivir. The river runs through it, pretty nearly from north to south, and may be two hundred and thirty paces wide at lowest water, as when I was there.

There is one bridge of twenty-eight boats,[3] overlaid with

[1] For these two marches, I can compare Teixeira's distances with the Indian Navy Map, a beautiful sheet, on a scale of 4,000 yards to the inch. As near as one can guess, his leagues come to 27 to a degree on the Equator. No accurate calculation is possible, but a league on that scale is a very fair hour's march for a laden camel. It is quite certain, at any rate, that he is not here using the long "Portuguese leagues."

[2] For the history of Bagdad from its foundation, and plans of the city at various periods, see Guy Le Strange's *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London, 1900.—D. F.

[3] Xenophon and Felix Jones found thirty-seven: a coincidence of which the latter makes, perhaps, too much. [On the Bagdad bridges of boats, see Le Strange's *Baghdad*, pp. 177-186.—D. F.]

timbers; and between boat and boat is as much as the beam of one of them, that is, four paces. It is made fast to the city walls and houses on each side with great iron chains. Every night it is cast apart in mid-stream, and lies half on each bank, and so likewise under stress of excessive wind or flood, when people use ferry-boats. When the wind or water goes down, it is thrown across again, but is always cast apart during prayer-time on Fridays, while the Pasha and people are in the mosques, and after that reunited.

The river rises in winter six cubits and more. Sometimes it floods the gates of the city, which stands on a bank not much more than that height above it. The water seemed to me much clearer and sweeter than that of the Euphrates. Fish are plentiful and good, and the Moors use them.[1]

For the maintenance of the bridge there is a toll of one *maydin*, that is worth eleven maravedis, on every load of goods inward or outward bound.

Those coming from Mesopotamia, as we did, enter that part lying west of the river, over a deep and wide dry ditch, the lofty spoil-bank of which serves as a rampart, and secures that quarter against the Arabs, the enemy most to be feared on that side. It has two fixed wooden bridges, one near each end of it. This ditch is a new work, made in 1601, by Açen Baxá Wazir,[2] who also built thereby the market, *khan*, and coffee-house,[3] yet known by his name—very fine buildings.

I do not remember having seen stone in any building of this city, except in the gateways of this *khan*, and of a

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[1] This is in contrast to their negligence of the fish at Mashad Ali.

[2] As we should now write, Hasan Pasha Wazir. I prefer to write "Pasha" in the customary English way, but here that is difficult. Teixeira's "Wazir" would satisfy the strictest Anglo-Indian.

[3] The original has "*casa de Kaoáh*" (see next page).—D. F.

new mosque,[1] on the left hand as you enter the city by the bridge. These stones are white and very hard, but not marble. They are brought from Mosul, higher up the river, which some hold to have been Nineveh.

This part of Bagdad may have three thousand inhabited houses; with *succos*, that is, marts, *caroanceros*, public baths, and workshops of all handicrafts in use among the Moors. Everything is as plentiful as within the city, and some things more so; for that the provisions come mostly in from that side.

Amongst other public buildings, as I have said, is a coffee-house.[2] Coffee is a vegetable of the size and appearance of little dry beans, brought from Arabia, prepared and sold in public houses built to that end; wherein all men who desire it meet to drink it, be they great or mean. They sit in order, and it is brought to them very hot, in porcelain cups holding four or five ounces each. Every man takes his own in his hand, cooling and sipping it. It is black and rather tasteless; and, although some good qualities are ascribed to it, none are proven. Only their custom induces them to meet here for conversation, and use this for entertainment; and in order to attract custom there are here pretty boys, richly dressed, who serve the coffee and take the money; with music and other diversions. These places are chiefly frequented at night in summer, and by day in winter. This house is near the river, over which it has many

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[1] On Felix Jones's Plan of Bagdad this mosque appears as "Jama al Vizir," No. 26. At least the position is that described, and the name suggests that the founder was the same Pasha, whether governor, or ædile, or both.

[2] *Casa de Kaoáh.* The last word represents the Arabic *qahwah*, which, when Teixeira wrote, had not become naturalised in the various European languages (see *Hobson-Jobson* and the *New Eng. Dict.*, *s.v.* "Coffee"). The details that follow are repeated by our author in chap. vi, Bk. I, of his *Kings of Persia* (see *infra*, Appendix B).—D. F.

windows, and two galleries, making it a very pleasant resort. There are others like it in the city, and many more throughout Turkey and Persia.

On this side there are to be seen, without the rampart and ditch, ruins of ancient buildings, which testify to the former magnificence of this city. For here was at first the great Bagdad (not Babylon), as I shall presently tell.

Passing hence to the city by the bridge of eight-and-twenty boats, one enters it by a great gate, besides which there are five posterns on the river face; which may be a great mile in length. At its northern point, upstream, is the citadel where the Pasha lives: rather spacious than strong, in shape a long quadrangle, and in circuit about one thousand five hundred common paces.[1] It is girt with a ditch some eight cubits deep, and twelve wide. The walls and bastions are of brick, with guns mounted here and there.

Herein are sheltered the Pasha, and the best of his immediate following, who are commonly from one thousand five hundred to two thousand men; paid and provisioned at his own cost. The citadel gate opens southward, and from this citadel starts the city wall, with one gate towards Persia. On this side, all the land is very flat and fertile, tilled and sown in proper season. No hill nor other obstacle breaks the view; and being so level, it is flooded in some years in the winter, and crossed in boats. When this happens, a bridge is thrown from a window of a bastion, in the middle of the wall, for public use.[2] This wall is more than a league and a half

[1] It is, on Felix Jones's plan, a very irregular quadrangle, almost pentagon, and its circuit rather over that given by Teixeira, which is not surprising. [Cf. the plan of Bagdad, and description of the fortifications, etc., in Tavernier's *Voyages*.—D. F.]

[2] This arrangement is not easy to understand, unless we suppose that the "bridge" (*puente*) was really a floating stage or pontoon, which boats came alongside of. The whole description of this wall is unsatisfactory. Pietro Della Valle and Thevenot give no help, and

about, and the other end rests on the river; describing a semicircle, with some salients, for better defence. It has two more gates landwards: one in the middle and one at the southern extremity.

There is a deep ditch all round, and the wall is of burnt brick, with platforms, returns, and many bastions. Of these four are great, well-built and strong enough to bear their guns; which are many, heavy, and good, all of bronze.

The Pasha here has absolute and supreme command, in peace and war. Yet have the strangers a protector, appointed by the Turk, who stands up for them and for the merchants, against him and the other royal officers, when his clients are threatened with any notable wrong. He defends them very honestly, as happened when I was here, in a very important case, wherein was seen how far that protection extends. For he went so far as to imprison the royal officers, and made the Pasha abandon his pretensions.

The force appointed to the defence of this city, and of its dependencies, is commonly of fourteen thousand men, horse and foot, of Turks and of other nations, whom they make use of. Four or five thousand live in the city, of whom fifteen hundred are Janissaries. The rest are scattered in garrisons and posts; and besides these are the Pasha's household troops, already mentioned as living with him in the city.

There are visible in Bagdad ruins of fine buildings of the Persian times, such as the mosque called the Calefáh's,[1] and others over the river, a *madrasa*[2] which was a hospital,[3]

Felix Jones very little, which is not his fault. I suspect some corruption in the text, but have followed Stevens's translation as the safest course.

[1] On the Jâmî-al-Ḳaṣr, or Mosque of the Caliph, see Le Strange's *Baghdad*, p. 252.—D. F.

[2] Arab. for "college" (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Madras").—D. F.

[3] This was the famous College of the Mustanṣirîyah, which contained a hospital (see Le Strange's *Baghdad*, pp. 266-270).—D. F.

the vaulted markets, and some old *alcoranes* which are wasting away. Besides these memorials of the past there is nothing deserving note but two mosques, whereof one is on the left as you come into the city from the river, by the great gate.[1] It was built by a Pasha in pious memory of one whom you may call his saint, and is surely a costly work, as far as it may be seen and judged from without. For none but Moors may enter these mosques, especially those most in use, without plain peril of life or of forcible conversion; but this is not enforced with equal vigour in all places. The other mosque, set at the head of the city, near the palm-orchards that lie between it and the rampart, is famous alike for its construction and for an aqueduct, whereby it is supplied with river-water,[2] a costly work enough, and of great public benefit.

Although one-third of the space within the walls of Bagdad lies waste, and there are great palm-orchards, it may contain over twenty thousand houses, mostly large and roomy, but poorly built, and seldom well planned. All are flat-roofed; most have no windows on the street, and but small street doors. They are all of old bricks got from the ruins, and many live only by quarrying and selling these. Wherefore, for four or five miles around the Mesopotamian quarter all the land is full of deep pits, showing how great was that city in other days.

As for the inhabitants, the most part are civilised Arabs, the rest Turks, Kurds and Agemis or Persians: which last in my time, because of the war, were not very numerous, but yet a fair proportion. There may be two or three hundred houses of Jews, whereof ten or twelve profess to be remnants of the first captivity. Some of them are well-

[1] The "Jama al-Vizir" of Felix Jones's Map, already mentioned (see *supra*, p. 62, and note).

[2] Probably the shrine marked by Felix Jones "Sheikh Omer Shaháb-ood-Din," near the "Bab-al-Wastani."

to-do, but most of them very poor. They dwell in liberty in their own ward, and have a *kanis* or synagogue.[1] There were ten houses of Armenian Christians, and eighty of Nestorians. The folk of Bagdad are commonly of fair complexion and good appearance, nature, and manners. The men, who go mostly on horseback, dress cleanly and richly; as do the women, of whom many are very handsome, and most have fine eyes. In the streets they wear always mantles called *chaudeles*,[2] but not black, and over their faces veils of silk or gauze, black or purple, so that they see all and cannot be seen: not that they object much to that, or fail to drop their veils on purpose, at times.

There are in the city many very clean baths, some for men only, some for women, and all use them freely. In the midst of Bagdad, near the river, are seven or eight streets of shops for goods, and workshops of all crafts used among the Moors; and as many *khans*, wherein merchants lodge: places much frequented, but all closed at night with great iron chains. Beyond these is a street called Pange Aly, that is, "Aly's hand, or five fingers"; because they say, here appeared the hand of Aly on the wall, and remained there imprinted, wherefore they have there a sort of oratory, and many tapers in it at night.[3]

Hereabouts is commonly stationed a *bolugo baxi*, that is, a chief or head arquebusier, so-called from *bolugo*, an arquebusier, and *bax*, a head.[4] I believe that the title

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[1] Dr. Kayserling, who quotes this statement of Teixeira's in a footnote to I. J. Benjamin's description of Bagdad (*op. cit.*, p. 140), says that the *kanis* referred to was "perhaps the Kenisa 'gdolah des Rosch Hagolah,' which Benjamin de Tudela mentions."—D. F.

[2] Persian *chādir* or *chādar* = mantle, veil; the Anglo-Indian "chudder." See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. "chudder." (Note the change of *r* to *l*.)—D. F.

[3] G. de São Bernardino (*Itinerario*, p. 103) describes this under the name of "Panyaly."—D. F.

[4] Here there is a confusion between *banduk* = a gun, and *buluk* = a company or squadron. The *buluk bashi* was simply a captain. As for the other etymologies, they are simple enough.

baxa is of the same derivation, meaning head of the government, and so also *Cazel Bax*, or Red-head, and *Carà Bax* or Black-head: names of fighting tribes amongst Persians and Turks.

This *bolugo baxi*, from this his station, attends to all those *succos*, or markets; and sees that no buyer or seller be there offended, nor any violence or injustice committed. As for private quarrels, he settles them by word of mouth, by fair means or severity, as the case may need. If he cannot, he sends them to the *kabdy*,[1] who is the regular judge, for disposal. This plan seemed to me very good, and is so efficient, that although there were there so many undisciplined soldiers, it being war-time, yet I cannot remember to have heard of any violence being used in those streets, during two months that I dwelt there.

Bagdad enjoys a very pure, temperate, and healthy climate, though the rarity of the air affects some careless folk with catarrhs. Summer and winter are as in Europe, but the heat excessive, and the cold very moderate. Provisions are abundant, good, and cheap: namely, meat, bread, vegetables, fruits, and green-stuff. The common traffic is of camels, horses, mules, asses, and pack-bullocks, all in great number. There is produced in the environs much cotton and silk; all wrought up and used in the city, where are more than four thousand weavers of wool, flax, cotton and silk, who are never out of work. The folk use commonly three tongues, Arabic, Turkish, and Agemi or Persian, but Turkish is most in use.

In time of peace, and even of war, merchants resort hither with much goods out of Persia, and from India through Bacorá, by the river; or by the deserts on either side of it, from Karamit,[2] from Aleppo, Tripoli, Damascus,

[1] Probably a misprint for *kazy*.

[2] Kara Amid, or Diár Bakr, ancient Armida, on the western branch of the Tigris.

and many other parts, to control which there are three custom-houses; one across the river for the Syrian traffic, and two within the city for the rest.

There is a mint where gold, silver, and copper coin are struck, and two schools, one of archery and one of musketry. Though the place is far inland, it has plenty of salt from Mexat Aly. Amongst other sights of the city, I saw a great street, filled on both sides by gold- and silver-smiths, all Moors, where are wrought things no less admirable than costly, though there be among them none of any other sect or law; which I noted, with wonder at Botero,[1] who, in his treatise of the customs of African nations, speaking of the Jews, says that they won entry there by means of this art, for that it is forbidden to the Moors. I do not know where he got this information; whereof we observe the contrary in many places.

Without the Mesopotamian quarter of the city there is, in a small building, a tomb held in great reverence by Moors and Jews, wherein, they say, rests the body of a Jewish high priest. It is like a great chest of masonry, and in the head of it is a copper plate, with Hebrew characters in relief, as follows: "*Yehsuáh Koengadóh*;" that is: "Iosuah the High Priest." They say that he was a holy saint, and all reverence him accordingly, by reason of the miracles that they say God wrought by his means.[2]

Such as have written about this city of Bagdad commonly confound it with Babylon, by reason, I suppose, of the neighbourhood of its ancient site, no more than a good

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[1] Giovanni Botero, regarding whom and his works see the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Tome vi. The reference is to Botero's *Relationi Universali*, Lib. III, par. iii, p. 158 (of the second, revised edition, published in 1602 in Venice, where Teixeira may possibly have bought it during his stay there in 1605).—D. F.

[2] This tomb is not named on Felix Jones's map; all the named tombs on which are of Muhammadan origin. [It is described, however, by I. J. Benjamin (*op. cit.*, p. 152); and Dr. Kayserling cites Teixeira's reference in a footnote.—D. F.]

day's march hence. To see the difference, it is enough to know that Babylon stood on the Euphrates, and Bagdad is on the Tigris. But, for better satisfaction of the reader, I will relate its origin and foundation, according to the chronicles and records of the Moors.

In the year 145 of the Hijra, or Moorish epoch, that is, A.D. 763, Abujafar,[1] then Kalifáh, came hither from Kùfa, a city of Arabia, then the chief place and residence of the Kalifáhs. Pleased with the position, and for other reasons, he founded this city on the western bank of the Tigris, whereon yet is that quarter, above mentioned as in Mesopotamia. So great it grew that (as I have said) for five miles around are found ruins of its great and fine buildings. And on the other side, where is now the city, that is, the eastern bank towards Curdestam, was then no town of name, but only a few farm-houses and gardens, whence it seems to have taken name, for Bagdad in Persia means a place of gardens, from *baga*, meaning a garden.[2] In course of time, when it was most prosperous, there came such floods of the Tigris that the city went gradually and helplessly to ruin; until the Caliphate of Almostazer Biláh, son of Almoktady Bilah, who succeeded in the year of the Hijra 487, that is, A.D. 1095, three hundred and forty-two years after the foundation. He, thinking the eastern bank more convenient, as it truly is, transferred the city to its present site there.[3] Yet was it much greater than now; for within

[1] Abu Jafar Mansur, son of Muhammad, 21st Caliph, and second of the Abbaside dynasty. Teixeira has the story in the *Kings of Persia*, where he dates the foundation in A.H. 147, and A.D. 763. This is one of the passages showing that he had not the *Kings of Persia* before him when preparing this Voyage for the press.

[2] The best old authority before me is Tabarí, who mentions Bagdad as an important mart, the object of a successful raid of the Caliph Umar's General Muthána; and again, as the site of Abu Jafar's new city (Zotenberg's translation, vol. iii, pp. 383, 384, vol. iv, 395, 421, etc. He says Mansur settled there in 145 of the Hijra). [On the foundation of Bagdad, see G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 9 *et seq.*—D. F.]

[3] Teixeira states these facts in his *Kings of Persia* also. (Cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 279, 283.)—D. F.

it, between the houses and the wall, are many great mounds, standing on what is by nature a very level plain, and consisting but of the ruins of many and great buildings.[1]

Such then is Bagdad, and such was its origin. As for Babylon, so called for that it stood in the place called Babel, yet bearing that name amongst those nations, I have already mentioned its position. It has long been but a memory; and though there be yet some traces of it, they are unimportant. Let this suffice in respect of the foundation of Bagdad, but I must add that I cannot remember having seen elsewhere so many and terrible mires as here and in Baçorà; for as there is none but loose earth, every shower makes the mud past belief.

The Pasha had come lately from Baçorá, which he had left, by the desert route, three days before our arrival there. He was called Issuf or Iuçef Pasha, a eunuch, and a Xerquez[2] by nation. His office is worth yearly 200,000 sequins, or about 250,000 ducats, whereof he may expend at most thirty or forty thousand. This is the value of it in time of peace, but in war-time he makes what he pleases.

When we were now set upon our departure, there came to this Pasha fifteen *capgis*[3] from Constantinople, who are gate-wards of the Grand Turk, bringing him the title of Wazir, and continuance in his government for seven years, with a robe of brocade, a sword, and a golden chain-bridle: things that the Turk is wont to send to such as he raises to the like dignity.[4]

Of all the Pashaliks to which the Turk appoints, the first

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[1] This description is completely borne out by Commander Felix Jones's Map. [Cf. Maps iii, v, and vii in G. Le Strange's work.—D. F.]

[2] Circassian. Teixeira, whether by accident or design, here spells Pasha "Paxa," instead of his usual "Baxa."

[3] Turkish *kapiji* = porter, door-keeper.—D. F.

[4] G. de S. Bernardino relates (*op. cit.*, p. 108) that in 1605, when he was in Bagdad, the Pasha had rebelled, and had almost annihilated a force sent against him by the Sultan.—D. F.

and chief is that of Mecere, that is, Cairo in Egypt, the second this of Bagdad, the third of Tabriz.

When we came here the city was in fear of the Persians, reported as coming against it, as, not long before, had come Ala Verdi Khan,[1] Wazir and Captain-General of Xá Habás, King of Persia, who took before the walls about three hundred soldiers in one skirmish. But next night he broke up thence in haste, abandoning some of his baggage, and the cause of his flight was never known.[2] After that the Persians made many other inroads in Curdestam, a territory very near Bagdad, whose capital is Suster, now said to be the Sus, or Suza, where Ahasuerus held his court, and Esther's dealings with him and Haman came to pass. These lands are parted from those of Bagdad by the river Dialáh which flows southward at one day's march from Bagdad, and joins the Tigris five or six leagues below the city.

Here we were looking out for a chance of departure, for none durst march without news from Aleppo, which had been for three months beleaguered. For, by reason of private feud, the Pasha within the city would not give it up to the besieger, though he brought an order of the Grand Turk. And in that siege the city endured famine and dreadful sufferings, as I afterwards heard there from many people.[3] Meanwhile not we only, but all Bagdad, were in great discontent, having had no certain news how things went for two months.

But it pleased God that on the 26th of November, at

[1] This is Sir Antony Sherley's friend "Oliver Dibeague" and "Oliver di-Can" (see his *Travailes into Persia*, 1613, p. 43 etc.). He was Governor of Shiraz in 1602, when Fa. Ant. Gouvea visited that town (see Ant. Gouvea's *Relaçam . . . . das guerras*, etc., Liv. I, cap. ix), and was no friend to the Portuguese (*op. cit.*, caps. v, xii, xxii).—D. F.

[2] Malcolm (*History of Persia*, 1829, vol. i, p. 355) states that the Persian troops were recalled from Bagdad by Sháh Abbás to reinforce his army, in order to meet the Turkish General Jághál-'Aghli.—D. F.

[3] See Rich. Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, 4th ed., 1631, p. 1236 (see also *infra*, p. 117).—D. F.

daybreak, there came to the house of Diego Fernandes, the German, where I lodged, three couriers together, who brought him letters, with advice that now the land was at peace. It may well be guessed how that news rejoiced us, and we presently made ready for the road, and sent to fetch our camels, already half hired, from Oçen, for thence they had to be brought.

CHAPTER VII.

How we left Bagdad, and re-crossed Mesopotamia to Anna on the Euphrates.

WHEN our start was arranged for, and the camels were come in, on Sunday, the 12th December, 1604, at five o'clock in the evening, we left Bagdad, crossing the river into Mesopotamia, and slept that night in the fields, between the houses and the rampart.

On Monday, the 13th, at nine o'clock in the morning, we started on our journey. Our caravan was of one hundred and thirty camels, and seventy-five asses.[1] After marching a league and a-half, we halted to settle the dues payable here to Mir Nacer, an Arab king of the tribe of Eben Emana, the same who rules Mexat Aly and Mexat Oçem. This we accomplished with trouble and vexation enough. The place is called Bax Dulàb,[2] that is, "the head or beginning of the water-wheels," whereof are several here, over wells of foul stinking water, used to water some gardens.[3]

Before I left Bagdad I had taken counsel, of such as seemed best fit to give it, about my conveyance. I got various advice, but mostly, because of the coming winter, and to avoid trouble and hardship, to use camel-panniers.

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[1] "*Jumentos*" perhaps including mules. [2] Not on any of my maps.
[3] On these water-wheels, see G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 321.—D. F.

This I approved, and did so; as did Diego Fernandes and Diego de Melo. These panniers are like cradles,[1] about four and a-half palms long and two and a-half wide, hooded and lined; so that one man can sit therein, sheltered from cold and rain. They are slung in pairs, each forming half the camel's load, as Diego Fernandes and I travelled; or one is counterbalanced by some other like weight, as Diego de Melo's was by a chest. In the seat of such a pannier is wont to be a secret nook, used commonly to hold things of value. In these one travels with more shelter and quiet, and without anxiety about a horse and his food: both ever in danger at the fancy of any Arab. For these will beg the loan of a horse, and return him or not as they please, and if they do, he is all out of breath. This they do without ceremony, and I have seen them so serve even the Turks; of whom, if found alone, they make no account on the plains. And to take your horse's barley for their own, if they want it, is their common practice. This is as good as killing him, for on those routes is none for sale, cheap or dear. Then, by ill chance, a horse may fall lame, as happened to Diego de Melo. But all these troubles are avoided by travelling in panniers, for, if a camel is weary or lame, they put the panniers on another. For their masters always bring with them some in reserve, to take turns with the loads, and replace such as die or go lame. And it is the custom, when a merchant hires camels, that he should have, for every ten laden, one into the bargain, for his personal baggage. And so, because of the season, and to save trouble, we chose the panniers, and travelled in them to Aleppo.

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[1] Here I have had to translate far from literally. Teixeira throughout calls the panniers, in Spanish, *cunas*, literally "cradles," and explains that "they are what the name implies," which it hardly does in English. The Anglo-Indian reader will recognise them as *kajáwas*. [Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Cadjowa."—D. F.]

On Tuesday, the 14th, just before sunrise, we marched from the Water-wheels, heading west over good and level country, with a few little hills. After three leagues' march we entered the ruins of a great city, whereof are yet standing one tall *monara* or *alcoran*, and two fragments of a thick and strong rampart of burnt brick and mortar. The Arabs call it Karkuf.[1] Shortly we entered upon excellent land, but desolate and waste, saving a small part, which the Arabs cultivate for their own support, which bears abundant crops. On this march we saw many flocks of sheep, wild swine, and gazelles, which bands of Beduine Arabs were hunting down. We marched continually until four in the evening, when we halted in a plain that the Arabs call Aflayah,[2] the name of a town, from which the whole district is so called. Throughout this march we saw ruined canals, that once brought water from the river to irrigate these lands. But its floods, and those of the Euphrates, have destroyed most of these.[3]

On Wednesday, the 15th, we marched before sunrise north-westwards, over very level plains, where we saw some gazelles and swine. After mid-day we marched for a long way, with a dry watercourse on our right hand, which has a great flow of water in time of rain. As there had been rain of late, there were in it some pools, whereon were many herons and other fowl. I was told that in time of flood men went thereon in good-sized boats, even to Bagdad.[4] After marching about six leagues we drew level with a mound, some three leagues on our left, whereon we saw two high *monaras* or *alcorans*. At its further base,

[1] Akr Kúf of Bewsher's map; identified with several ancient cities.

[2] I have failed in identifying this place.

[3] Felix Jones assigns these canals to the Tigris, which has, since or at the time of their destruction, shifted its bed a good deal eastward, and does not now irrigate the region of the present march (*Selection from Records*, Bombay, No. 43, N.S., pp. 216 *et seqq.*: a fine memoir).

[4] Bewsher's map shows the end of this canal, or of what probably represents it. Some such communication still exists.

towards the Euphrates, is a settlement of most thievish Arabs.[1]

At 4 P.M., having come seven leagues, we halted in the ravine of a water-course, a pleasant place enough. The Arabs call it Aohenhat,[2] from certain water-springs that are there in wells. These were dry at the time, so we had to seek water afar, and bad enough, from other wells lying westward of us.

On Thursday, the 16th, we marched one hour before dawn, over very level ground, but of varying quality, until four in the evening, more than seven leagues. We halted in a spot waterless and nameless; but that, from the neighbourhood of another place, they call it Om Errús.[3] All the water that we found, as far as this place, was thick, white, foul, stinking, and ill to taste. And things had been worse if the weather had been hot, for we should have found none, good or bad.

On Friday, the 17th, a little before sunrise, we marched on the same north-western course,[4] over very good and level country. Having gone two leagues we saw, about

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[1] Possibly Kubr Mahmood of Bewsher's Map, but I doubt it.

[2] "*Que es, trae ojos.*" "*Uyún hát,*" or something like it, would mean "Bring eyes" or "Bring wells" (or rather "springs"). It is difficult to translate such a phrase; but I conjecture that it represents an exclamation supposed appropriate to the place, and that this explanation was given to Teixeira by some of the party. Asiatics are very fond of such etymologies, and I have somewhere seen a very similar one assigned to Kalhát in Omán. We use such names ourselves sometimes, *e.g.*, when we call a naval station "Haulbowline," and a place in Malta—where beggars sat and whined—"Nix Mangiare Stairs."

[3] Possibly Omm ar'rash, "the mother of trickling," from the scanty supply of water in the "other place." Kiepert has a "Maros," which may represent this name. ["Aoenhat" and "Om Errus" are both marked on the map ("Rough Sketch of Part of Western Asia") by Thomas Aquila Dale, A.B., prefixed to his *Campaigns of Osman Sultans*, 1835. They appear to have been entered on the authority of Teixeira, though his name is not mentioned.—D. F.]

[4] "*El mismo rumbo del Norueste.*" Here, as often, Teixeira employs the language of navigators. For the benefit of some readers it may be worth while to explain that a "rhumb" is an apparently straight course, as shown on a map of Mercator's projection, which indeed is chiefly useful for that very purpose.

three leagues on our left, a mosque with a tall *alcoran*, which the Arabs call Mexat Sandadiah.[1] After five leagues we found ourselves in the ravine of a dry watercourse, with some wells like the last. Here we watered our beasts, and made some provision of water for our march. The Arabs call this place Ogolet Xeque Mahamed, that is, "Xeque Mahamed's shins." For the Arabs call the leg, from the foot up to the knee, *ogolet*. Probably the wells were dug by some one of that name. When we had marched about eight leagues, at four o'clock in the evening, we were forced by heavy rain to halt in a waterless place, called by the Arabs Ogolet[2] el Kelb, that is, "the Wells of the Dog's Leg," after some that were more than a league thence. It was a wonder to see how level and good was the soil hereabouts, and a pity to see it desolate and waste.

On Saturday, the 18th, we marched after sunrise, wet enough with the heavy night's rain, north-westwards over very level and good land, leaving not far on our left three wells of foul and stinking water, whence our last *manzel* took its name. The Arabs call the halting-place of a *cafila* or company *manzel*,[3] which is, in Latin, *mantio*.[4] Presently we came to rough ground, ravines and bare stony hillocks, through which we marched a good way, until we entered the channel of a great dry watercourse. This and all its neighbourhood were of white rock, brittle, scaly, and very shiny, like *attincar*.[5] Here we halted at three in the afternoon, for the sake of a well of black water, as thick,

[1] Not identifiable. [Dale's Map has "El Mesched," and Philips's *Imp. Atlas*, "El-Meshad."—D. F.]

[2] *'Aghalat.* The meaning seems to be, that at Shaikh Muhammad's wells, above mentioned, the water was *knee-deep* to a man, and that in these it was no more to a dog. [Both these "Ogolets" are marked in Dale's Map.—D. F.]

[3] See *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* "Munzil."—D. F.

[4] *Sic.*

[5] *Attincar* is borax. "*Quebradiza*," above translated "brittle," also means "flexible." Perhaps the mineral indicated is mica, which has both qualities, and is also "very shiny."

foul, and stinking as could be. This day's march was of six leagues, and the *manzel* is called by the Arabs Gomegme.[1] This night fell such heavy rain, that, in spite of all shelters, we and our baggage were all well soaked.

On Sunday, the 19th, we marched after sunrise northwestwards, over uneven country, rugged and rocky like the last. Sometimes we came out on great plains, a few clear and of excellent soil, but mostly foul and flinty. After eight leagues' march, about four o'clock in the evening, we halted in a pleasant valley, albeit dry. The Arabs call it Abú règemo, that is, "the Father of the stoned one"[2]; from a mound of stones piled up there. The water there was poisonous.

On Monday, the 20th, before sunrise, we marched northwestwards, over plains now fertile and again stony. That day we made about eight leagues up to four o'clock in the evening, when we halted in a dry and rugged watercourse, which the Arabs called Seylat.[3] About half a league in rear of it was a well of bad enough water, but tolerable in comparison with what we had drunk of late.

Here, early in the night, came to us six Arabs, who, taking us at unawares, threw the whole *cafila* into confusion, and we hastily stood to our arms. Two of them, who were taken and questioned, said that they were shepherds, who, leaving their stock with others, were passing this way to a hamlet, with some camels and eight or ten sheep. Some of these were bought of them, and henceforward we kept good watch. The company had

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[1] Perhaps a corruption of some derivative of *ghamr*, meaning "the inundation" or "overflowing." Not on any of my maps. [Given in Dale's Map.—D. F.]

[2] "*Appedreado*," which does mean "stoned." But I am not so sure that it is the right translation of the Arabic, which is evidently *rajm*, or one of several very similar words, all of which have the meaning of "a tomb or cairn," as well as that of lapidation, and others not here in question. ["Abu Regimo" is entered in Dale's Map.—D. F.]

[3] Perhaps a derivative of *sail* = "flowing"; not on the maps.

already broken up, some bound for Hyt, others for Hadyt, or for Iuba, towns set on the bank of the Euphrates.

On Tuesday, the 21st, St. Thomas's Day, we marched at daybreak, north-westwards, over rugged and stony ground, about two leagues, until we entered a great ravine, in the bottom of which runs a very deep river in time of rain.[1] But at this time it was dry, and after passing it we proceeded over very wide and level plains of good soil, with here and there rough places and hillocks.

After crossing these plains, whereof no small part was tilled and sown, we came to the bank of the Euphrates, and halted at four in the evening, opposite an island. On it was a farm-house, with some thirty palm-trees, and tilled fields and water-wheels. The Arabs call it Zawyhe; but our halting-place and all that district they call Naçeria.[2] In this bend the river runs from north-east to south-west, and may be four hundred paces wide. Here we saw palms and other trees for the first time since leaving Bagdad. The soil on both banks is fat, and all along the road we found much wild marjoram,[3] tall and bushy, and of extraordinary fragrance. Our march this day was six good leagues. Here we learnt that there was a *cafila* in Anna, bound for Aleppo, whereat we rejoiced greatly, thinking to make the less delay there; and here we killed a sheep, which we had bought of those shepherds above-mentioned, and regaled ourselves therewith: our first flesh-meal since leaving Bagdad.

On Wednesday, the 22nd, we marched just before sunrise, keeping to the river bank along its various

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[1] This ravine seems to be indicated, without a name, in Macdonald Kinneir's route map, which shows also several nameless islands about the position of Teixeira's "Zawyhe," mentioned below.

[2] Nasariah of Kiepert's map, which shows a desert route from Bagdad to Ana, probably that followed during *part* of this journey. [Philips's *Imp. Atlas* marks "Zawiah" and "J. Nasariah," both on the northern bank of the Euphrates.—D. F.]

[3] "*Oreganos.*"

windings, by a pass which the Arabs call Medyk[1] Naçeryà, that is "the Strait of Nacerià," for the little space between the mountains and the river, which was on our left hand. When past this, we saw on the other bank of the river several towns, with orchards, palm-trees, and water-wheels. Presently we came to open plains of good soil, under cultivation. Then, after leaving the river at some distance, for that here it makes a bend, we struck its course again, passed a little more of bad road, and continued our route to north-west and west-north-west, over the same plains. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the *cafila* halted in the bed of a dry watercourse. There was no water, but we brought it from the river in water-skins, which are carried in reserve against such occasions; and without them it were impossible to pass that desert, let alone others.

On both sides of the river hereabouts are many farm-houses, mills, and great water-wheels, moved by the stream itself, watering those plains, which are mostly tilled and sown. From this onward, almost all the land near the river is mountainous. Our camping-place is called by the Arabs Véd Gárabáh, that is, "the Boundary River." It seems that the limits of Anna, whither we were bound, extend thus far.[2] On this day we marched about seven leagues. This

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[1] Probably for "*Madìt*," a narrow pass.

[2] "*Dizen los Arabes Véd Gárabáh (que es) Ribera, termino de la ciudad, parece que llega alli el de Anna hazia adò yuamos*" (*sic in orig.*, accents, brackets, and all). This passage and the translation puzzle me. "Véd," in spite of the accent, is evidently *wadí*, a watercourse, which Teixeira always calls *ribera*, as he does this very one a few lines above. According to his practice in transliteration, Gárabáh would represent *'gharabá*, and probably is some derivative of *'gharb*. My modern dictionaries do not give me any such with this meaning of "boundary," but Golius at least suggests it (Leyden ed. 1653, p. 1698); and I am inclined to trust our author a good way. There is no reason for hunting up other possible meanings of "Véd Gárabáh," and it is only just necessary to observe that it certainly does not include any word meaning "city." The boundary referred to was at least five leagues from the city, and must have been that of its *territory*. Kiepert has a "Wadi Sûr," dotted tentatively, in a suitable position.

night there passed by us three horsemen, Kurdish merchants, going to Anna, where they had property. They had been complaining to the Amir, the lord of that region, of injuries done to them by his servants. In the morning watch a thief came into the midst of the company, and stole a pack-beast belonging to a Moor of Anna, unperceived but by its master, who, though he saw it taken from him, had not heart enough to give the alarm. The thief, to make his way out more shortly and quietly, cut away some of the ropes of Diego de Melo's tent.

On Thursday, the 23rd, we marched before dawn, over varying country, until mid-day, when we descended high and rugged mountains to the Euphrates, running at their feet. On both banks of it lies the town of Anna, for which we were bound. This half-march may have been of five leagues. When we began the descent, my comrade, Diego Fernandes the German, and I alighted from our panniers, and I took the ridge of the hills, the better to see the position of the town, and the rest of the view thence, which is very extensive. This done, I followed the caravan, now near the river. We halted on the Mesopotamian bank all that evening, and for the night, which was wearisome enough, keeping good watch for fear of thieves, but rejoicing that God in mercy had brought us so far in peace.

Immediately on our coming, my comrade crossed the river to procure leave for our passage over, which could not be made without it. After trouble enough, he could get none, and came back weary and ill-contented. But at night two officers of the Amir brought it over, got by the good offices of a Jew, to whom Diego Fernandes had an introduction. They even wanted us to cross at once, but we would not, because it was dark, and we feared some trouble or misadventure. So we put the matter off until the morning, and the officers went away, not without good pay for their undesired services.

In the morning of Friday, the 24th,[1] we crossed to the other bank of the river, which the Arabs call Xam, leaving behind us Mesopotamia, which they call Jazirey, that is, "the Island," because it lies between the Euphrates and Tigris, which is also the meaning of the name Mesopotamia.[2]

When we had landed ourselves, our goods, and baggage we pitched the tents on a slightly rising ground by the river shore, in pretty heavy rain, and snatched some rest: though little, by reason of the weather, and of the ill-conditioned people. Our route from Bagdad had not been that in common use for *cafilas*, which lies higher up and further north, and is longer than ours. We chose the latter as shorter and safer, because less frequented.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning the town of Ana,[3] on the River Euphrates.

ANA (whose name in Arabic means "pain" or "vexation")[4] stands on the River Phorat, or Euphrates. It is a most ancient settlement, according to the tradition of its people.

[1] Of December, 1604.

[2] *Jazira*, = an island, is often applied to a peninsula; or, as here, to the superior delta of a great river basin. Analogous applications of words properly meaning "island" occur in Indian languages, though some have borrowed from Persian the more accurate *duáb*. One of the oddest adventures of *jazira* is the restriction of the local form *janjira* to *fortified* islands on the Bombay coast, and its special application to one of these *par excellence*, that of the Sidis.

[3] From this onward, Teixeira spells Ana with one *n*, as always hitherto with double-*n*. I incline to take this as evidence that his Portuguese narrative was a real diary, kept pretty well up to date, and that he corrected his orthography as he learnt better; but translated into Spanish from the original MS., with little or no editing or correction.

[4] Rather "groaning." But the derivation is far-fetched, and evidently a grim conceit at the expense of the ill-conditioned Anális, who vexed our traveller.

But we have a better authority in Scripture, *videlicet*, in the nineteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings: where we read that when Sennacherib, King of Assyria, would threaten Hezekiah, King of Jerusalem, he demanded of him in his letter, "Where is the King of Emath? the King of Arphat? the king of the city of Sepharvaim, of Ana, and of Ava?" Whence we clearly see its antiquity, and can understand that it was this very city, since Sennacherib could not freely pass from Assyria into Palestine without first subduing these cities that lay between.[1] I speak under correction, understanding that in so long a time there must needs have been great changes in the city.

Ana stands on both banks of the Euphrates, in a bend from north-north-west to south-south-east.[2] Now, where that bend begins, towards the north, in the midst of the river, is an island, one of many such up and down the stream, all cultivated. It may be a mile about, and is walled around, though the wall has suffered from time. At the north end of this is a citadel, with a garrison of a hundred Turks and some guns, and without this are houses, palm-orchards, gardens, and a market. It had a public bath when it belonged to the Cazelbax, or Persians, who held all these lands, including Bagdad.

The river here runs between rugged and lofty ranges of hills, betwixt which and the water there are, on the Mesopotamian bank, only from one to two hundred paces, and

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[1] Whether Teixeira's critical and probable identification of Sennacherib's conquest be right or not, Anah is now commonly identified with the classic Anatho, Anathan, Bethauna (Beth-Ana), and Zosimus's "Phatusae." Tavernier (*Travels in Turkey and Persia*, vol. iii, p. 6) describes it much as our (preceding) traveller does (Smith's *Dict. Greek and Roman Geog.*, *sub voce*), and so does P. Della Valle (Seventeenth Letter from Turkey, dated Bagdad, 10th and 23rd December, 1616). [Cf. also Gasparo Balbi, *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali*, cap. ii; and Newberie (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, p. 1411).—D. F.]

[2] West-north-west to east-north-east would be a good deal nearer.

on the west bank, in the quarter called Xam,[1] from two hundred to five hundred at most. In this narrow space lies the city, composed of but two streets, one on each bank. That of Mesopotamia, perhaps two miles long, has not many inhabitants, mostly working folk. The further or Syrian quarter must be more than two leagues long, and is the chief part of the city. The street runs right through the middle of the narrow strip of ground, with houses on both sides, all of one or two stories, small, square, and flat-roofed except the mosque, which has a tiled roof, sloping to one side only.[2] I cannot remember having seen any other tiled roof in all those parts. Each house has its own patch of ground, no bigger than a threshing-floor,[3] towards the hills on the river side, wherein are many palms, orange-trees, lemon, citron, and pear-trees, quinces, figs, pomegranates, and other of our European trees. The olive-trees are so many and great that they may be equalled to great chestnuts. And such is the virtue of the soil, and the help of the river-water, that everything grows vigorously and in plenty. One palm-stock will bear four, five, or six most fruitful stems; and where the plain is fit they sow wheat and barley, which always answer well.

The air is most pure. The houses are all of stone and plaster, or stone and mortar, and mud. There is a good-sized ditch between the foot of the mountains and the back-gardens, which in winter catches the drainage of

[1] "Sham," the West, or Syria, and especially its capital Damascus, as opposed generally to "Shark," = the East, and here particularly to Jazira or Mesopotamia.

[2] "*De una sola vertiente*," or pentwise, a sound construction for a mosque. For its side towards Mecca should be, externally, as near as may be, a blind wall, and the other side, by which it is entered, as open as circumstances will permit.

[3] "*Repartimiento de tierra como exydo*." Stevens translates *exydo* "outlet," but the context forbids this, for these patches were clearly *back-gardens*, as I have called them below. [In his *Span.-Eng. Dict.* Stevens explains *exido* as a piece of common ground.—D. F.]

the slopes, and keeps it from flooding the gardens. In summer it holds the water drawn from the river with water-wheels, to irrigate the same. There may be, in the whole city, up to four thousand houses, whereof one hundred and twenty are of Arabian Jews, who are not rich, but live decently, and are well looked upon by the lord of the land and his officers; albeit, as usual, this costs them something. But they have houses and lands of their own, like the Moors, who make up the rest of the people. These are divided between two factions. Some are descended from the old inhabitants of the land, and are Moors in name and appearance. For the rest, they rate the doctrines of Mahoma at their true value, but are none the better for that. Their ancestors worshipped the sun, and I suspect that in secret they observe that and other superstitions, for that several people told me as much; and further, because one, who came often to our tent, would always turn the conversation to the sun, and ask my opinion about him, and what Christians thought about him, his beauty, motions, and powers, praising his glory out of all measure.[1] The other Moors are immigrants, settled here by various chances and at different times.

The king and lord of this land is an Arab, called Amir Hamed Aburixa.[2] He is the most powerful in all

[1] Perhaps this man was a Yazidi, or of some allied sect. For their reverence of the sun, see (*inter alia*) Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, London, 1849, vol. i, chap. ix, especially p. 288.

[2] Ahmad Abu Risha. Pietro Della Valle says that "Abu Risc" (as he spells it) means "Father of the Plume," or "Plumed one," which is possible enough. If a Prince of Wales, or a man of one of our Highland regiments, were to cross the desert in his proper feathers, he would certainly be called "Abu Rish." Della Valle says that this was a family surname. He was only twelve years later in Ana than Teixeira, and his Amír, "Feiád Abu Risc" was probably the very "Fyad" mentioned by Teixeira as "out" against his usurping uncle, Ahmad (*vide infra*, chaps. viii and ix). He was wise enough to keep a Scotch doctor. [Gasparo Balbi, who was in Ana in 1580, says (*op. cit.*, p. 12 *v*): "Questi Arabi tengono per loro signore Aborise." Fr. Gaspar de São Bernardino (*Itinerario da India*, 1611, pp. 125, 126) calls the lord of Ana "Burixa," and Cesare Federici (copied by Fitch)

that part of Arabia, yet withal subject to the Turk, who in this, and all other lands of that region, has granted possessions to a good many of his own folk. The transit dues on goods and merchandise are paid here to the Amir, and above them a small royalty to the Turk. They are levied by the load, and not on percentage nor *ad valorem.* The dues on each load should be about five ducats, but, with the extortions of the officers they come to ten, or more,—that is for goods of value, such as silks, cloths, indigo, spiceries, and the like. Galls, dates and other such articles pay one ducat per load, swollen by the surcharges to two.[1]

In this land there is great harvest of dates, which are carried for sale to Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, and elsewhere; and they are a staple food of the common people. Other provisions are not dear, except rice, which comes from Bagdad. But there is a great inconvenience to travellers and strangers, in that there is no public market for necessaries, except for mutton, and there was none of that at the time of our arrival. Public markets are forbidden by the Amir, to avoid annoyance to the folk of the city; for the Arabs of the open country are so insolent that they fear neither God nor king when they have an opportunity for theft and violence. So whatever any one needs is found and purchased in private houses. There are here about thirty great boats, trading up and down the river, on which[2] are many great mills. It has plenty of good fish, whereof the Moors make small account.

The people in general are fair, and some dress decently. They wear commonly sheepskin cloaks, reaching down to

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speaks of "Borise, lord of the Arabs." Sir Antony Sherley, who saw this "king" in 1599, and had a very poor opinion of him, calls him "Aborisci" (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, p. 1387).—D. F.]

[1] Balbi (*op. cit.*, p. 13) also mentions the extortions of the Anális.—D. F.

[2] "*En medio del qual*," probably on islands, for security's sake, but perhaps on boats.

their feet, open from the neck to the breast, and from the belly downwards, with very wide sleeves. When it rains they turn the wool out, and in wind and cold they turn it inside. This is a very common outer garment in those regions.[1] There is plenty of white salt, brought from a mine, two days' march away in Mesopotamia, which they call Sinesela.[2] Wood is very scarce.

Through this territory pass most of the *cafilas* or caravans between Aleppo, Tripoli (which they call Tarabolis), Damascus, and Bagdad; albeit they can find other ways by paying the dues. On our arrival, we found two companies, who had waited two months for a chance of passage to Aleppo. One was of Kurds, with silks; the other of Mosulis, merchants of Mosul, a part of Diarbek or Karaemit, in Mesopotamia, on the Tigris. These last had fine cloths,[3] which are there abundant, and of many sorts; and galls, which are exported from that country, to the amount of more than twelve thousand camel-loads in the year, to Aleppo, Tripoli, Damascus, and to Bagdad, thence to Baçora, and on to India and China.

The people here are wont to send their camels into the Mesopotamian pastures, for those west of the Euphrates are scanty, remote, and dangerous. They bring them across on the eve of departure. These are the chief means of transport throughout these regions. It is the custom to carry, for their supply, sacks of barley meal, cotton seed, and other things, whereof are made for them a sort of roll, of the size and shape of an ostrich's egg, with which they

[1] The Anglo-Indian will recognise the *long* Afghan "postín."

[2] Name rather doubtful. Kiepert shows "salt" in the desert, about 25 "Turkish leagues" east-south-east of Ana, which is near enough to be "competent false witness" in corroboration of our traveller. [Dale's Map marks Sinesela due north of Ana, at the foot of a mountain range. In the map appended to Lord Warkworth's *Notes from a Diary in Asiatic Turkey* (1898), it is shown as "L. Sneyseleh (salt)." Andree's *Handatlas* (1899) enters it as "Saline Hewara."—D. F.]

[3] "Muslins," if one may believe the lexicographers, are so called from Mosul. [See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Muslin."—D. F.]

are fed at night, in addition to what they get by browsing. For though they endure well the want of food and water, yet is not their endurance such as some writers have described, nor their power of bearing weight. The strongest and soundest bear no greater burden than six hundred pounds, and with that they can only travel for nine or ten hours, limping at every step. There is great difference between camels. Those of hot countries are more enduring than those of cold climates. They have a hump between the shoulders, which is of great advantage in loading them; and some in some lands have two, forming as it were a saddle between them. They almost all lose their hair every winter, which begins to grow again in spring. Some possess great speed, but these are scarce. They are always loaded and unloaded kneeling on the ground; and to keep them quiet at such times it is enough to hobble one of the bent knees. In conclusion, I may observe that this creature expresses his suffering with doleful cries and flow of tears.[1]

In all these lands men spin much wool with the spindle, and women with the wheel, but nowhere saw I so many spinning-shops[2] as here.

There had come with us from Bagdad certain Moorish merchants of Ana, who said they were going on to Aleppo. But when they had got home, they thought better to spend the worst of winter there than shelterless in the desert, and would go no further just then. But they contrived that we should be detained to keep them company at their good pleasure.

So, on the 28th of December, when we had paid the dues, and were in good spirits with the hope of starting in two or three days more, the officers of the Amir hindered us. For they, prompted by the Analí merchants, would

[1] This is a sensible description of the camels and their use.
[2] Or "spinning *men*" ("*hilanderos*").

not let our camels cross the river, pretending that El Dandal lay in wait by the way to attack us. This man was a nephew of the Amir himself, and the rightful heir of those lands, but his uncle kept him out of them by usurpation. This falsehood we disposed of by the evidence of some lately come from those parts, who declared that El Dendal,[1] and a brother of his, were gone with their folk towards Egypt. Convicted of that lie they forged another, *videlicet*, that Aleppo was again besieged. Seeing that for all that we would take our chance, they prayed us to await sixty camels gone to collect dates of the Amir's, to take them to Aleppo in our company. These, they said, were to be back at Ana in eight or ten days, and then we should have a speedy departure. So we must needs stay there in the depth of winter, in frost, rain, and snow, in the tent of Diego Fernandes the German, without whose favour and company I should have come very ill through this journey. We were on the bank of the river, which we thought a safer position than any house in the town; fearing the Arabs' greed, which made us keep more anxious watch, exposed to the importunity of every Beduyne that chose to invade the tent to eat or beg. As to the latter, when alms come cheaper than plunder, no Arab, great or small, has either shame or scruple. The worst is that they beg as of right, and take as if conferring a favour. For all this there is no help but in patience and prudence; in spite whereof annoyances do not fail of occurrence.

While we were here, many Turkymanis crossed from Jazirey to Xam, with great flocks of sheep, which they take for sale to Damascus, Tripoli, Aleppo, and even to Constantinople. They pay here twenty ducats per thousand head, for ferry and transit dues. At the same time came more camels from Mosul, laden with galls.

[1] *Sic in orig.*, with the slight change in spelling, which recurs The brother's name appears below to have been "Fyad," P. Della Valle's Feiád. (See note, *supra*, p. 84.)

Now were we almost heartbroken with our detention, with hope deferred of departure, the waste of our subsistence, continual cold, watchings, fears, oppressions, and the extortions of the Arabs; and a little more of it had been enough to make an end of us. But it pleased God, at this time, that the Kurdish and Mosuli merchants, weary of long delay, agreed with us to march in company, despite the new objections of the Analis. Whereupon again were violent discussions. But, having overcome all hindrance, we agreed to bring our camels over from Jazirey to the Syrian quarter, where we ourselves were. This we did on Wednesday, the 12th of January, 1605, and that same evening came in the camels with the Amir's dates that had been sent for.

CHAPTER IX.

How we started from Ana, and took our way through the desert to Sukana.

ON Thursday, the 13th of January, 1605, at nine in the morning, already weary of new debates and squabbles, we turned our backs upon the river, and ascended the mountains, here more rugged than lofty. After about a league of toilsome travel, we gained more level ground, if not more fertile, and halted, until the *cafila* should pull itself together. The Arabs call that spot Tel Alyud, or "the Jews' Hill," because these have their houses below it in the city, near the river, and give name to that quarter. In this same place, the night before, robbers had fallen on some Turkyman shepherds, who fed great flocks there. These, seeing us halt and pitch tents, thinking to be safer, drew around us with their stock, whence we feared some violence. For these shepherds are also, upon occasion, stout and stubborn thieves. The first watch of that night was mine; as throughout that journey, by land and sea, in

town or field, I took my watch every night, save only in the great cities. I kept it with trouble enough from a great fever that I felt come on me; and on relief I took shelter, and threw myself, dressed and booted, on my bed. This was but a cloak thrown over a chest, and all rough with its knotted lashings. I had scarce lain down, and was beginning to feel still more fever and headache, when my comrade, who had relieved me, called me up in haste. I rose, and took my arms, seeing him in the tent-door with his gun levelled. Thieves had attacked the flocks by stealth, and at the bleating of the sheep, the shepherds and others had made hue-and-cry, and driven them off with the loss of one sheep only.

On Saturday, the 15th, we remained here in trouble enough. For the others who had agreed to follow us failed therein, hindered by the Anales. These, after our departure, dissuaded the other merchants' camel-men from crossing the river, with their stories of a second siege of Aleppo, and of the roads being closed by El Dendal and Fyad, the Amir's nephews.

In this affliction, whereof was left us no cure but what we hoped for of God and our own patience, there came that morning a *cafila* from Damascus, which passed our camp on its way to the city, and assured us that Aleppo was open and in good order, and our route safe. This was so true that eight or ten unarmed men brought hither, over its whole length, a hundred loaded camels without mishap. With this news we were in a little better heart, and hoped to get away the sooner. On Monday, the 17th, came eighty camels more from Iuba and Haddyt, with the Amir's dates, to go in our company; and that same morning the Kurds and some of the Mosulis came out of Ana, and the departure of the *cafila* began to be warmly pressed forward.

On Friday, the 21st of January, 1605, at eight in the

morning, the *cafila* began to move. We led off, and some followed us, to the number of one hundred and twenty camels in all. We marched westwards about four leagues, over barren and rugged hills, and presently came out on level ground with abundant pasture, where many flocks of sheep were grazing. In the midst of this plain were two high round mountains standing apart, from which all that district is called by the Arabs Rumam-hen,[1] meaning "the Two Pomegranates": a name most fitly derived from their form.

These we passed, and after three leagues' further march we halted at four in the evening, in a pleasant field full of green grass, but waterless. The rest of the *cafila* had failed to follow us, hindered by the customs officers, for the dues that some had not paid. They had waited for that day, because these payments are used to be managed with least confusion in the open country, when the *cafila* is ready to march; and as all dues are upon the load or bale, they are then most easily settled. Herein we find, amongst the Moors, a milder and easier method than that in use amongst Christians in Europe.[2]

On Saturday, the 22nd, we marched westwards, in terrible cold and tempest; now over very level and good land, and again amongst broken glens and hills. After about five leagues we came to a *mansel*, where caravans used to halt. We passed it, because there was no water, and that next day's march might be less, up to the river, short of which we should find none. This *mansel* is called Iubab, that is, "the Wells of rain-water."[3] At 5 P.M.,

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[1] "Rumánain," correctly rendered. This word "Rumán" has nothing to do with Rome, occurring early in Hebrew and Syriac (Brandis, *Forest Flora*, p. 241). These hills are not on my maps.

[2] The practice described has, in fact, the advantages of a sort of primitive system of "bond."

[3] I have translated literally from the Spanish. "*Iubab*" probably represents something like *yabas* = "a wet place that dries up."

after a march of eight leagues, we halted in a plain without water, which the Arabs call Mekaçar Iubab.[1] All along our route were many flocks of sheep at pasture.

On Sunday, the 23rd, after sunrise, we left this place; marching north-westwards over varying country, until we descended into the channel of a great dry watercourse. All its bottom, as far as we could see, was of living rock, white and hard as marble, and smooth as if paved by hand. Herein were many pot-holes, made, as the Arabs say, by the rains, and full of rain-water. We drank of it, men and beasts, and filled our water-skins with what remained over, for hereabouts is no other. Scarce was this done when there came two mounted Turkymanis with bows and quivers, stout and well equipped, who came in search of water for their flocks. Small joy had we at the sight of them, for on those ways the best security lies in meeting with no man.

We wanted to go on that day to the river; but one of the Kurds objected, who expected the caravan to overtake us. So we got out of the watercourse, and went a little further on, to halt at the foot of one of two hills, standing, like the last, in the midst of great plains, to which they give their name, in Arabic Aden then, or "the Two Ears": and well it fits them.[2] They are of the same form and equal height. I climbed one, whence I could see far all around, for the land was level. We halted here at one o'clock in the afternoon, having marched five leagues. That night it was so cold that next morning we found all the water frozen in the skins.

On Monday, the 24th, we marched at dawn westwards,

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[1] Our traveller does not translate Mekaçar. Probably it stands for *maksur*, and the name means "the rain-water pools amid the pasture," and, in fact, is hardly a name at all. It reminds one of the marches of our own armies in Asia and Africa, fittingly described by an Irish private as "marches from nowhere to nowhere else, for nothing at all."

[2] *Adan*, Arabic, = an ear. Not on the maps.

over country like the last, until we came to the river, whose current is here very gentle. Here is a *manzel* of caravans, called in Arabic Kahem, after a turret or tomb of that name, standing on the river bank. Probably it was built by, or for, some one of that name. Kakem,[1] in Arabic, is the same as our Cayn. Here, the Arabs say, according to their tradition, was of old an important city, astride of the river, which they magnify with many words. But now no trace of it is to be seen.

We had come about six leagues to this place, and two hours before, the Amir's date-laden camels, which were most of our company, had parted from us, taking another road; their owners were householders of Sucana, and went thither to await the main caravan, and rest themselves until it came up. Only we and the Musulys, with under forty camels, came on to this place (Kahem). We thought it an unsafe place for so few folk, being much infested with thieves; and resolved to go in search of the other party for their company's sake. The Musulys wanted to wait here for the caravan, fearing to cross the desert, that begins here, with so few folk, and not without reason. As each side persisted in maintaining their own opinion, they came to ill words and well nigh to blows. But my comrade Diego Fernandes, who was chief of the merchants and strangers in that company, made up his mind, and, in spite of the Musulys, caused us to set out in search of the other party. At nightfall, after two leagues' journey, we found them at a place called Tel ul Manahyat, that is, "the Well Mounds,"[2]

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[1] *Kahem* in the first passage, *Kakem* in the second; the former is probably right. *Cayn* is the English *Cain*, son of Adam, an unlikely godfather. Kiepert marks the place "El Kajim," in a position agreeing with the text, a little off the track from Anah to Aleppo, at a notable bend of the Euphrates. [Ant. Tenreiro, *Itinerario*, cap. lv, calls it "Racalaem," and describes the place as he saw it in 1523.—D. F.]

[2] *Mant* (amongst other meanings) is a pit or well, especially a *tan-pit*, which this well seems to have resembled in quality. The place is

because of one there which we found full of rain water, foul and disgusting; but our need made it seem pure and sweet. The Musulys, who wanted to make us stay by the river, when they saw that we had really marched were frightened, and followed us, sore against their will. They came into camp when the night was well spent.

On Tuesday, the 25th, at sunrise, we marched north-westward, over land of varying surface and quality, until five in the evening, when we entered upon great plains. Amidst these we found about forty tents of Turkymanis,[1] who used those pastures, with their families and cattle, sheep, camels and mules.[2] The tents are all round, their tops like half an orange cut across. Their inner frame is of rods or canes, and the outer covering of pieces of felt. They are all portable and divisible, so that they can be taken to pieces, and carried in balanced camel-loads. Some were very clean and handsome, well hung and carpeted[3] within, especially that of the Sheikh, which was spacious and very well ordered.

These Turquymanis are true Turks, of such as came first from Turkestam. And being content with life on the plains they remained on these, which had been possessed, before their coming, by the Arabs with their herds and households. They are divided into what they call *tayffas*, the Arabs *cabiley*, and we *cabilda*, and the Tartars *orda*,

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marked "Manyat" in Kiepert's map, in a position corresponding with that which one would expect from the narrative.

[1] Some readers will know these people at least as well by the name of "Yurúk."

[2] "*Mulas*," not "*jumentos*."

[3] This description of the felt tent of Central Asia, distinguishing it from the southern tents of rough blankets or cotton canvas, is interesting. All have been often described, and a chief's white felt tent was on show at South Kensington some years ago. I have translated one word, *entapitadas*, as "hung *and* carpeted." The same materials are still often used in Asia for both purposes, in both houses and tents; and the French *tapis* and *tapisserie* indicate similar usage in mediæval Europe, though now applied to two different things.

all meaning "a tribe."[1] They are stout fellows, afoot and mounted, strong-limbed, patient of toil, and resolute in action. They live by their herds, but lose no chance of plunder.

While the sheep are at pasture they keep the lambs shut up under shelter, but let them out when the flocks return in the evening. Then every lamb finds out his own mother, as if she were alone. This done, they hobble the ewes, that they may not stray, and the lambs suck at their ease. When we came there, I saw more than six hundred lambs come out of one pen, and their meeting with the ewes was a sight to see. When these are full they are penned up again, and the sheep return to pasture:[2] which method of stock-raising seems good to me, both for profit and security.

These people live on dairy produce, and though they have so great stock, yet never would they sell us a sheep, but hung carcases of those dead of disease, or by accident. We did not want these, and the camel-men bought them.

Here we were in fear of some mischief from the ill-disposition of that folk. Wherefore Mostafá, who came with Diego de Melo, set himself up for a *chaús* or special messenger of the Amir, and him who was in charge of the dates for the Amir's servant. And they put me also

[1] *Táyifah*=a tribe in *Arabic*, and is *not* specially Turkish. "*Orda*" is "Tartar" enough, but implies often a greater body, possibly including many tribes. It is our "horde" and the Hindustani *urdú*, generally meaning "a camp." "*Cabiley*" is *kabílah*, plural *kabáyil*, whence the French call their Algerian Highlanders "Kabyles," as we, sometimes, call our own "the Clans."

[2] Presumably on a very limited area as compared to that of the safer day-time. This is now the custom of the wandering shepherds of West India, on waste lands free from any special danger, and they reasonably think it best for the health of the sheep. But in the face of any special risk, as of beasts, thieves, or the pound, they fold all the sheep. And in arable country the cultivators give them not only ground free for that purpose, but also an allowance of grain for the sake of the manure of the fold.

into their tale, saying that I was a physician[1] sent with them to Aleppo by the Amir, to look to some things he would have them buy there. Partly on this account they used us with some civility and respect, and gave us some of their sheep's milk, which was no small treat to us.

Their women do not hide themselves, but, being robust, are foremost in the management of their stock. These dress somewhat after the Galician fashion. They have all cow-hide boots, short skirts, and tight bodices, and on their heads great rolled hats, like a sort of pyramid. The Arabs call this place Meçenáh, and there is no water there.

We left this place on Wednesday, the 26th, and after about three leagues' march northwards we came into a very wide plain, almost surrounded by a ridge of earth, like a great rampart. Right across the middle of it there ran the bed of a watercourse, equally level and of very uniform width, fifty or sixty paces. Dry as it was, one could conceive how fine it would look when full.

In this plain was another clan of Turkymanis, with great flocks of sheep, many camels, and other beasts. They were clean and well dressed, but not so manageable and easy-going as the last. They begged for dates, and were answered that these could not be given, being the Amir's goods, but that they had it in their power to take them. They made no reply; but it was well seen that for a little they would take the dates and everything else, and ill-pleased were we to see their greed.

There were here near the watercourse three wells, where they watered their cattle. Our camel-men filled the water-skins and other vessels, and then we moved off. The Arabs call this place Muy al Meçenah, or Methenàh, that is, "the

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[1] "*Un hombre inteligente de medicinas*," a not untruthful description of Teixeira, even though he were somewhat of an empiric.—D. F.

water of Mesnáh."[1] We marched over varying country, mostly very fertile and level, until sunset; meeting some more herdsmen with cattle and camels, and starting many hares. After about ten leagues' march, we halted in a very level plain, without water, called by the Arabs Tabakt Seguer.[2] Here we suffered fearfully from thirst, for all the water we had brought on was so foul and stinking that none would drink it.

On Thursday, the 27th, we marched at sunrise, heading north-westwards, over very good and level land. After about three leagues, we crossed the ravine and channel of a wondrous great watercourse, then dry, which the Arabs call Sehel,[3] a common *manzel* of caravans. Here were some wells of good water, from which we partly quenched our thirst, and continued our march, until five o'clock in the evening, when we encamped in a very level plain of hard sand. Here were some wells of good water, and the Arabs call the place Iubeba.[4] This day's march was seven leagues.

On Friday, the 28th, we started at dawn, and marched northwards, over level, clear, and fertile land, albeit stony in some places. We met with a great herd of the Turkymanis' camels at pasture; and after rather more than seven leagues' march, just before sunset we halted in a place without water, called by the Arabs Ragem al Kayma. This means "the Tent Cairn," and there is one

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[1] Teixeira does not translate Meçenah, here or above, and there is no use in guessing amongst the possible Arabic words. It is not on the maps.

[2] Not translated, nor on the maps.

[3] The remarkable watercourse was perhaps Kiepert's "Wadi Suwáb."

[4] Probably "Djub Ghánim," marked on this route as exactly four Turkish leagues ("Aghatsch") from Wadi Suwáb, and in a position otherwise consistent with the narrative. Both these places are also on W. Hughes's Map of Syria, which comes into use at this point of the route.

there, of stones heaped up in the shape of a tent, as a landmark.[1]

In all this march we saw no hill, mound, nor high land, except, when we halted, a very distant range which the Arabs call Gibel el Bexar, or "the Mount of Bexar:"[2] the name of a clan that inhabits it. Perhaps it was in memory of this that the Arabs gave the name to Bexar in Spain whence the Duke takes his title.[3] We saw many hares, and coursed some with a dog that my comrade had with him, called Marzoko, which means in Arabic "Good Luck;"[4] but had never enough of it to catch one. It is true that, of all hares ever I saw in the world, none seemed to me as swift as these.

On Sunday we started half-an-hour after sunrise, and marched north-westwards, over very flat and good land, leaving the Bexar range on our right. At sunset, having made about seven leagues, we halted amongst ten or twelve tents of Turquimanis, who were pasturing their cattle and camels there.

Here, when the camels were unloaded, arose a bloody and dangerous strife between our camel-men and those of the Musulis. They came from words to blows and broken heads, and we had enough ado to quiet them; wherein we spared no pains, more for our own sakes than for theirs. The quarrel was over our going to Sucana, a village where the Amir's camel-men, who had his dates, had their homes; and meant, as I have said above, to await therein the arrival of the main caravan at Taybá, another

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[1] This translation seems to be correct. Kiepert, however, has in this position "Redjm-et-Chail," or "the Cairn of the Tribe," which is also possible.

[2] "Djebel Bu Schir" of Kiepert. The traveller's comment is worth note.

[3] D. José M. Quadrado, in his account of Bejar, in Salamanca (*España*, Barcelona, 1884, cap. ix), says that the origin of the name is unknown, but that the arms of the city display five bees (*abejas*).—D. F.

[4] Arabic *marzúk* = happy, fortunate.—D. F.

village on our direct route. As it did not suit us to part company with them in those deserts, we had to follow them where they chose, against the will of the Musulys and our own. For they had promised to come with us to Tayba. The Musulys urged that we should march to Tayba without the others.[1] Ours objected the danger of parting company, and they came to such strife that some had faces all bloody at their parting. In the end our men prevailed, and we settled to accompany the date-carriers. This place is called Ketef el Hel, and has no water, so we had provided some beforehand. Here, and on the previous march, we saw many hares and great herds of wild asses.

On Sunday, the 30th, we started before sunrise, and marched north-westwards over good plain country. Since the middle of the previous march, we had high mountain ranges in sight ahead.[2] In the plains we saw many and great herds of the Turkymanis' cattle, and many of their tents, but each alone and far apart. These were of the *tayfá*, or clan, calling themselves Beghdely, which alone of the Turkymanis using these pastures owns not the Amir's authority. For it has as many as eight thousand mounted archers, and some firearms, wherefore they are exempt from vassalage. We saw many hares and wild asses.

One hour and a half before sunset, we began to descend through ravines and uneven ground, but fertile; and one hour after it we came to some wells of bad water, where Turkymanis were watering their cattle and camels. That day we may have made nine leagues up to this place, which the Arabs call Naquib, meaning the deputy of any master.

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[1] *I.e.*, the Sukana men. Kiepert's map shows that the tracks to "Taijibbéh" and to "Es-Sochneh" diverge at "Djebel Serbin" a little west by north of this camp at "Ketef-el-Hel;" so that the question had to be settled here. [2] Kiepert's map shows these about Tayibé.

Here we spent the night in little safety and great fear. A little above us, on our left, was a watercourse, famous in those parts, called Gadyr á ther, at that time dry.[1]

On Monday, the 31st January, we started two hours before dawn, though the night was very thick and dark. We marched north-westwards through a very wide and level valley, between mountains and lower hills, at our best pace, for fear of robbers. At nine o'clock of the morning, under rain enough, we came to a village called Sukana, set in the gorge of two ranges, and took shelter in a *khan*, ancient indeed, but great and strong. It is one hundred paces without the place. This may contain one hundred and fifty houses, all little and poor, of unbaked bricks, mud, and small stones, the abodes of Arabs and Turky-manis.[2]

The origin of this place was a fort, yet standing amidst it, though in bad condition. It was set here in aid of the caravans, or *cafilas*, passing between Damascus and Tripoli on one side, and Bagdad and Baçorá on the other; as Taybáh serves those of Aleppo. A sufficient escort brought them hither, turned them over to the garrison, and went home again. This arrangement has ceased altogether since the Turkish conquest of these regions. I remember that there was on the fort's platform an iron falconet, as a scarecrow, I suppose, to plundering raiders.

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[1] "Naquib" is perhaps meant for *Náyíb* (= "a deputy"). The place must have been just opposite "Ghadír-et-Tair" (= the Bird's Pool, or Channel), shown on Hughes's Map of Syria as a hamlet on the south side of a great glen leading to "Es Sikhneh," Teixeira's Sucana. Kiepert has "El Chidhr" (representing nearly the same sound), about thirty miles (English statute) E. by S. of this place, off Teixeira's route, and not far from Hughes's "Wady es Raml." This Chidhr may represent a mistaken location of the same place, or a correct one of another place, or the general name for the drainage channel. The travellers' dangers and fears were probably of floods, as much as of thieves. For the next paragraph shows that the night was threatening and the morning wet.

[2] Ant. Tenreiro (*op. cit.*, cap. lxi) describes the place under the name of "Cocana (for "Çocana").—D. F.

About two hundred paces to the south is a spring of sulphurous water, hot and stinking, rising in and filling a natural round basin. Thence it flows southwards, and waters some gardens and fields thereabout. This water gives its name to the place; for in Arabic *sukan* means "hot."[1] All the people drink mostly of this, and bathe in it, men and women alike, with little modesty, and go out of it into a mosque thereby. Of what is left after watering the land, and of another water, not so bad, which joins this from afar in a distant salt valley, they make their salt.

To conclude: the place is a very poor open hamlet. Everything is scarce and dear, especially wood, for want whereof they burn dry dung of camels and other beasts. The climate is unhealthy, provisions scanty and bad; and, for all that, I saw in this town some women as beautiful as angels.

We stayed here five days, not without trouble from the importunity of the inhabitants. For there is no village but hath its alcalde, and no alcalde but would be greater than the king;[2] and in this and the like matters it is in Syria as in Spain. So we kept good watches, fearing townsfolk and plain-dwellers alike. But Diego de Melo, forgetting that he was not in India, where passion is wont to heed reason but little, lost his temper with a camel-man, and threatened him with a sword. This had been a sore game for Diego, but for our earnest entreaties and

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[1] Rightly derived from *sakhan*="hot." The vowel pronunciation seems to vary, as no two maps, nor two dictionaries, render it alike. Kiepert identifies it with an antique "Adatha." Any place in that desert with a strong spring must always have a settlement of some sort. Kiepert suggests (by a dotted line) that the valley drains eastwards into the "Wady Suweid" and Euphrates. Hughes's Map neither contradicts this, nor clearly confirms it.

[2] Referring apparently to a Spanish proverb. Pinelo, in his *Spanish-English Dictionary*, quotes the following: "*Alcálde de Aldéa, el que lo quiérre, esse lo sea:* let him that desires to be *Alcalde* of a Village; that is, let them that are fond of foolish Honours, which bring Trouble and no Advantage, enjoy them."—D. F.

excuses. And other unpleasant things befell him during this journey, for that he would not consider and distinguish times and places; which if a man cannot do, he had better stay at home.

Here we awaited news of our caravan's arrival at Taybah, where we kept one to bring us word. This came on the morning of the 5th of February, and we loaded up and marched forthwith.

CHAPTER X.

How we left Sucana and joined the caravan at Tayba, whence we started for Aleppo; and how we were fallen upon by robbers.

ON Saturday, the 5th of February, at nine in the morning, we left Sucana, and marched westwards along the foot of a range[1] for about two leagues. Then we turned north into it, and climbed it, and after two more leagues of rough and perilous road, where we had to go afoot, we came out into a very wide valley, abounding in pasture, and surrounded by mountains. On the north side, and on higher ground than the rest of the valley, at the foot of a mountain standing apart from the rest, a town of over two hundred and fifty houses stands amid the ruins of an older city, that once belonged to Frankish Christians. There is yet standing a belfry of cut stone and mortar, which serves for an *alcoran*, and a dirty mosque at its foot is supported by fragments of beautiful marble columns, once belonging to a church that was on the same site.[2]

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[1] Marked on Hughes's Map as "J. el Lebdi."

[2] Probably before that to some pagan temple. Kiepert makes this the ancient Oriza. D'Anville (English edition, 1794) puts Oriza at "Sukne," Teixeira's last camp, and "Cholle," with no modern name, at or near the position of "Tayba." The *later* authority seems preferable. The mud domes, externally pyramidal, go back to Roman and

There is a tolerable fort of mud, standing on the ruins of an old one of cut stone, which was evidently important, and of good construction; and the town is enclosed. The houses are of sun-dried bricks and mud, with square walls and vaulted pyramidal roofs. They call it Taybáh, that is, "the Healthy Place," from the Arabic word *tayb*, meaning "health," or "good condition," for the purity of its air and climate.[1] There is a perennial spring of water a little without the town, sulphurous like that of Sucana, but much more endurable and better kept; and in one part of the valley are gardens, likewise in better order.

The inhabitants are Arabs, and live by stock-keeping and agriculture. This town and Sucana are subject to the Amir of Ana, who holds them under the Turk as a *Sanják*.[2] And as by Sukana go the *cafilas* or caravans of Damascus and Tripoli, so Taybáh is on the route of those of Aleppo. In both places dues are levied of fifty or sixty *maravedis*[3] on each camel, loaded or light; for camels are taken for sale to Aleppo. But the tyranny of the Subaxys,[4] who levy these dues, makes them come to much more than this.

We reached Taybáh after six leagues' march,[5] just before sunset, and found the *cafila* encamped on the plain there. I had scarce time to look at the town, along with a friendly Moor. However, I did see it, and returned to the

Assyrian days, and still exist in this region. *Vide* Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 26 (abridged edition of 1882), and Fergusson, *Temples of the Jews*, p. 146. [Cf. also Gaspar de S. Bernardino, *op. cit.*, p. 126.—D. F.]

[1] *Tayib*, in Arabic, means "good," or "nice," in a general way.

[2] "*Sanjacado*," from *sanjak* = "a banner;" the name came to be applied to a feudal tenure, and to its holder and his district.

[3] Under eightpence (Stevens).

[4] Local headmen; probably the same compared above to the Spanish Alcaldes. They seem to have been originally waterwardens.

[5] Hughes makes the distance twelve English statute miles "as the crow flies." Considering the nature of the ground, Teixeira's march could not have been less than sixteen, which, at twenty-five Turkish leagues to a degree, may be taken as not far wrong. Kiepert puts the two places twenty-two English statute miles apart, which is evidently excessive.

caravan on the plain. This consisted now of six hundred camels, counting those of our company, besides horses and other pack-beasts. Here we passed the night more at ease, by reason of our increased company, which was of some two hundred men of various nations; not enough, withal, to save us from what was to come.

On Sunday, the 5th of February, we started from Taybáh[1] at sunrise, and marched northwards over very level plains, of good quality and abundant pasture, with distant mountains ever on each hand, for two-thirds of the day. After that the ground was rough and hilly. At sunset we halted in a waterless place, which the Arabs call Hahe oie, that is, "the Winding Way."[2] The day's march was of eight leagues. In those plains the people of Taybah catch many gazelles in this wise: they set up over a wide space, amidst the plain, two rows of wands, about a cubit high, each with a rag pennant, forming a long and wide avenue. In this they make many and great pitfalls. Then, scouring hill and plain in bands, they rouse the game, and drive them to the rods. These, in terror alike of their pursuers and of the pennants fluttering on either hand, fall headlong into the pitfalls, and are taken alive or dead.

On Monday, the 7th, the caravan moved off one hour before sunrise, and marched northwards, over country of varying surface and quality, until sunset, seven leagues. We halted at the foot of mountains, near some wells of very bad stinking water; wherefore the Arabs called the

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[1] Pietro Della Valle marched from Aleppo to "Taiba," by Teixeira's route, or nearly, in September, 1616. But at "Taiba" he took another route to Ana; and only crosses Teixeira's (through these regions) at that place and at Bagdad. Their itineraries confirm each other very closely; and so, indeed, do their remarks about the country and people (Pietro Della Valle, Seventeenth Letter from Bagdad, 10th and 23rd December, 1616). [See also Ant. Tenreiro, *op. cit.*, caps. liv, lxi; G. de S. Bernardino, *op. cit.*, p. 126 *v.*—D. F.]

[2] I cannot verify this.

place Abumemten, that is, "the Father of Bad Waters." All the plains, from Taybah to this place, were full of little bushes, mostly of rosemary.[1]

On Tuesday, the 8th, the caravan started after sunrise, and we marched northwards over very flat and good land, leaving afar on the left hand a range of high mountains. On one of these stand yet the ruins of a great and once Christian city, which I saw from afar, though not distinctly. But all the Moors and some Armenian Christians testified to it as a certain fact, and assured me that there are there altars, stone crosses, and remains of buildings wonderfully wrought.[2]

After five leagues' march, we halted under compulsion of heavy and ceaseless rain. It came on in the afternoon and fell all that evening and throughout the night, with great cold until the dawn, which found us all soaked. Tents and coverings availed us not at all, and we suffered fearfully from thirst, for the place was waterless.[3]

Wednesday, the 9th, dawned heavy with cloud and mist, wherefore the caravan did not start until nine o'clock. When we had gone a little over half a league, of a sudden, about three hundred mounted Arab spearmen charged yelling in upon us. So thick was the tog that we perceived them not, until already amidst of the caravan, from which they were presently driving off two hundred camels:

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[1] "*Motas pequennas de que la mayor parte era vomero.*" I have followed Stevens in taking the first and last words to be misprints. If not, they must imply some use of the plough, which seems unlikely.

[2] Possibly the ruins marked in Hughes's Map as "Aschika." P. Della Valle has ruins somewhere about here, but the identification cannot be made sure of. Berghaus has "Bitter Wells" and "Ruins of an Ancient Greek City," in positions corresponding to Teixeira's narrative.

[3] This may probably seem strange to some readers. But an ill-organised Asiatic caravan can fail of water when surprised by a rain-storm. The tents and other coverings are of materials unsuited to collecting rain-water and the people lose their heads, and fail in resource.

the more easily that these are wont to march in separate squads or parties, to avoid confusion.

In haste we dismounted from our panniers, and stood each to his weapon, arquebus, bow, or sword. Speedily we had what was left of the caravan formed up together, and faced the robbers, so that they could not again break in amongst us, though they tried it several times. It was a pity to see this man robbed of his camels, that of his goods, and many of their miserable apparel; for, poor as it was, they were stripped naked with the utmost haste and cruelty; and all this when so far on our way, as it were at one's very hall-door, after all the inexpressible toil and trouble of the journey. But it pleased God that no hands were laid on any of our mess. When the robbers saw they could have no more booty but at their own evident peril, they drew off, and we remained in sorrow and in fear of their returning in greater force.

Now it chanced that amongst their spoil were most of the camels and dates of the Amir, the lord of those lands above mentioned. A servant of his, in charge of the same, troubled at this mishap, made up his mind to an interview with the robbers. He got safe-conduct for himself and his horse, upon oath and in inviolable form, used amongst the Arabs in such cases, went to the gang, and found them to be of two clans, the Ebenkaiz and Eben Rabyáh. The captain of the latter was a brother-in-law of his own, who, on seeing him, and hearing his story, was very sorry, and wished to return the camels. As for the dates, they were out of the question, for they had been divided instantly, and with great waste. The other clan would have no restitution at all; and upon that issue they came to blows. The Eben Rabyáh were victorious, broke the others, and took from them some lances and most of the camels. These they handed over to the Amir's servant, who returned them to our company.

On his return the galls that had been scattered on the ground were collected, as well as might be. For these robbers, in such cases, when they take a camel, break open his load, and, if it is of things useful to them, they take him off loaded; but if not, they leave the load, and take the camel, it being what they care most about. So we remained until evening; when, as I have said, the Moor returned, and we spent the night there, to get things into some order. Two Arab merchants, father and son, had been wounded by lance-thrusts during the attack. This place is called Garra, or Serige.[1]

We kept good watch, and about midnight, when I was on duty for our mess, I heard loud and sudden lamentations in the rear of the camp,[2] or caravan, which disturbed all our company. It turned out that a thief had crept into the caravan, in the dark, and up to some camels. He had already loosed one to steal it, but was perceived; and, though he must needs fly, would not do so empty-handed; so, laying his hand on the turban of a Moorish merchant who slept near, he made off with that. The merchant woke up with an outcry, which availed him very little. Such thefts are very common, and sometimes serious.

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[1] Either "Es-Seriyeh" of Hughes, "Serdji" of Kiepert, or "Aines-Zerga" of the former, about 10 miles north-west of it. I think Es-Seriyeh the more likely place, because five caravan tracks meet here and thieves like cross-roads. Moreover, its distance from Tayibé agrees best with Teixiera's itinerary. I do not find the name "Garra" on any map. Pietro Della Valle has an ancient city hereabouts called "Sirià" or "Serià," which may be this place, or near it; or perhaps the ruins noted above (p. 105). Teixeira's weather and fortunes at this place were not favourable for archæological survey. Berghaus helps little here.

[2] "*Real*," which is good Spanish and Portuguese for a camp, though the text suggests its being a foreign word. Teixeira may have had in his mind the Arabic *rihál*, or *rahál*, meaning the same thing, and perhaps the source of the Spanish word (Golius, p. 959). [*Reál* is more probably a contraction of *arraiál* (camp), which is cognate to the English *array* (see *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. v.* 'Array'). Körting's *Lat.-Rom. Wrtbch.*, however, derives *real* = camp, like the adj. *real* = royal, from Lat. *regalis*.—D. F.]

On Thursday, the 10th, the caravan moved off at sunrise, and marched all day northwards, without any halt, over very good land, but uneven. A little before sunset, after eight leagues' march, we halted, because it began to rain—not for the rain itself, which was not heavy, but because it made the camels slip and fall ;[1]—so we spent the night here. The place is called Drahem, after an ancient fortress on a hill near by, which still retains the name.[2]

There was no water here, and our sore need forced us to seek it at two leagues' distance with pack-beasts in the dark, and in fear enough. But at last we got it, and quenched our thirst, with which we were nigh worn out. While we were here there came up an Armenian named Iacub, formerly known to us in Bagdad, whence he had started on horseback sixteen days before, making all haste to Aleppo. He halted that night with our party, and marched along with us the next day, giving us the news, with which we beguiled the way for awhile.

On Friday, the 11th, after sunrise, the caravan left Drahem, and marched a good way, over very good land, till we got up with the end of a range near which we passed. The Arabs call it Corna Zebad, that is, "the Point of Civet, or of the Civet Cat." Here is commonly the *mansel* or halting-place of caravans. Presently we discovered other ranges, and marched along their foot, leaving them on our left hand, skirting a great lake more than thirty leagues in

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[1] This is a most serious danger with most camels. But those bred n marshes are as sure-footed as snipe in them ; and I have seen them carry men across the Little Ran of Kachh at a smart trot, when men could scarce walk on the salt slime, shod or barefoot.

[2] D'Anville's map shows an ancient "Derrima" in a suitable position, on what authority I do not know. J. Vincent's *Classical Atlas* (Oxford, 1828) has the same, probably following D'Anville. This J. Vincent is not to be taken for Dean William Vincent, of Westminster, whose authority, confirming D'Anville's, would be very welcome here.

compass.[1] This is filled by a spring rising at a town on its further side, called Gebul, and the spring itself is called Ahen Dahab, or "the Golden Fount," by reason of the value of its waters.[2]

For these unite with the rainwater in that wide place, which by its saline quality turns them salt, and in summer, by the heat of the sun, they are almost all made into salt, so hard that men can cross it on foot and on horseback. This lake belongs to the Grand Turk, who farms it out at a great price. Hence is salt exported to Aleppo and to many other places.

As we marched on we got into narrow and perilous places, between the hills and the lake; here and there so slippery from the rain that many of our camels fell, and were hard to raise; and it was wet, cold, and foggy, and bad weather altogether.

We saw on this march the ruins of some towns, and some houses standing empty, and on the crest of a high mountain the foundations and remains of a great and elaborate building, which seemed to have been a church: for in old times all this region was inhabited by Christians.[3]

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[1] Hughes's Map shows the modern caravan route as running south-west of the "Jebel Shbeit," and crossing the "Jebel Amiri" to "Hikla," our traveller's "Acle." The latter evidently rounded the first range by its north-eastern side, and the second by its eastern end, marching on to "Acle" between it and the great salt marsh, "Es-Sabakhah." "Corna Zebad" appears on several maps, and "Zebad (ruins)" on Hughes's, always in correspondence with Teixeira's itinerary. "Shbeit" is probably some Arabic inflection or derivative of the same word, rightly translated *alcalia* by our author, and probably the source of our word "civet."

[2] Hughes has the "Nahr Dheheb" as a long watercourse, feeding the salt lake "Es Sabakhah" at its north-western end, after passing near "Jebul," but not *through* it. Earlier maps have different forms of the same name, such as "Gabbula," closer down upon the shore of the lake; and so have the "classic" atlases. "Ain Dhahab" is rightly translated "the Golden Fount"; and all this part of the itinerary is easily verified.

[3] Berghaus's Map has a nameless ancient city here.

We halted not all day, until we came at sunset to an uninhabited hamlet called Acle,[1] standing at the foot of a pleasant hill, in a good meadow by the lake. It might have a hundred houses, small, but well built, of sun-dried bricks, pyramidal over vaults. Some of these were founded on wrought stones, remains of a more ancient and important town.

These had been deserted by their inhabitants, who are great thieves, and had gone, for fear of worse than themselves, to a place two or three leagues away. There is, on the north side, a perennial spring of very good water, and here we halted, after a march of six leagues.

On Saturday, the 12th, we set out at sunrise, and marched northwards along the lake shore, over very good land, leaving great mountains from two to four leagues on our left. After three leagues' march, we passed through a town of three hundred houses, built like the last, but better, and set amid the ruins of a greater, to judge from its remains. This is called Melhuah, or "the Town of Salt," which in Arabic is called *mel*,[2] for that much salt is got here from the lake.

One-third of a league beyond this we passed through another town, of perhaps a hundred and twenty houses like the last, called Safyra.[3] After two leagues more we found a little stream of clear and pure water, rising from two fountains, above which we passed. They are called

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[1] "Achla" of Pietro Della Valle, 1616, when it was still desolate.

[2] Arabic *milh*. Berghaus's Map of 1835, published by Justus Perthes, Gotha, has a "Melluhha" here; certainly the same place, though the salt lake is not shown as extending so far north-westwards, and very likely does not at time of low water. Teixeira was there in winter, and after wet weather. Hughes does not show this place at all, but does show the mountains on the left hand, forming an arc, of which the unmistakable caravan track is the chord, so as to confirm Teixeira's statement of their varying distance. Pietro Della Valle halted at "Mellúha," and gives the same etymology.

[3] On most maps of large scale.

Ahen Macubà,[1] or "the Bulrush Springs," by reason of some that grow there. Not far from this we found another village called Tal Aron,[2] that is "the Thorny Hill," by reason of one at whose foot it stands. It may have five hundred houses, like the last, but better and handsomer.

Here we heard that in Gebrahin,[3] a large town on our route, were three hundred Seghménes, arquebusiers who had deserted the Pasha of Aleppo and established themselves there, on the look-out for our arrival by this route.

On this news, all of us, fearing some mischief as sure to happen if we should fall into their hands, with one consent made haste to cross the fields for some two leagues; leaving that route to seek another, and already in fear of their observation and pursuit. But, having gained the latter, we followed it to a hamlet, one of many thereabouts, called Tel Axaráb.[4] Here the caravan halted, to let the already outworn camels come up.

It may have been four o'clock in the evening; and when those of our mess considered how much daylight remained, our insecurity in respect of those mutineers, and that the city was less than three leagues distant, we determined not to halt short of it. So, with such as joined us, including eight armed men and six-and-twenty camels, we pushed on for Aleppo, marching hard, on foot, and under arms, especially after entering the gardens, which extend for about two leagues on this side of the city. We made such speed as to enter it at sunset, after a day's march of more

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[1] On no map of mine. I cannot verify the translation, and am tempted to conjecture a mistake for *Maksabat*=a bed of reeds or bulrushes.

[2] Apparently from *khar*=a thorn. Berghaus shows this place near the route, but in a position inconsistent with the narrative, as nearer to Aleppo than his "Djebrin." I do not find it on my other maps.

[3] "Djebrin" of Berghaus; not on my other maps. Pietro Della Valle made it his first camp out of Aleppo in 1616.

[4] This may be represented by Berghaus's "Scherbié," though he puts it too far from Aleppo to suit the narrative.

than nine leagues: a year and a day after sailing from the bar of Goa, and just two months out of Bagdad.

We passed through the city almost to its centre, and entered a *khan*, where were then two Venetian merchants. The goods in my comrade's charge were consigned to one of these, Ioan Battista Bagozzy. Having delivered these, he went off to take up quarters with another friend of his, Ioan Domenico Ruspini. But first he begged of Bagozzy that he would entertain me until I could seek out a lodging for myself. This the latter and his companion did, giving me a room to myself, well furnished, and provided with all things needful. And they used me so kindly, with such hospitality and courtesy, for two days that I stayed there, as to put me under a great obligation.

Albeit such usage of all strangers is the common practice of those Venetian gentlemen.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the City of Aleppo.

THE Frank Christians call this city Aleppo, but the Greeks and Armenians, like the Turks and Moors, Hhaleb, and the Hebrews of old called it Aram Sobáh.[1] It is the chief town of Camogena,[2] in Siria, now Soria, and is a most ancient city. It stands amidst four hills, and partly

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[1] "Hhaleb," "Chalybon," and perhaps the Homeric "Alybe," represent some old native name. It is in favour of the last conjecture that the "Halizones" came a long way from "Alybe, birthplace of silver," to help Priam. Now, there was a river "Chalus," near Chalybon, which is generally identified with the modern "Kuweik," Teixeira's "Singa" and "Kykan." At first sight these names suggest "Cycnus," but there is apparently only a chance resemblance. Vide *Iliad*, II, 856, for Alybe; and Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, *s. v.* "Bercea" (the Macedonian name of the place), "Chalus," and "Chalybes." "Aram Sobáh" seems to rest upon tradition (?). [Ant. Tenreiro (*op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84, 99) calls Aleppo "Calepe" and "Calepo."—D. F.]

[2] Commagene. But geographers do not allow this province to have extended so far south.

upon them, and has a mild climate and pure water. Beside what is brought from the Euphrates by aqueducts, for a distance of two days' march, and distributed through the city to many public and private fountains, some very finely wrought, there flows around it a bend of the river Singa, called by the natives Kykan, and by the Hebrews Kykanos. This river, lending its aid to the natural excellence of the soil, makes it most fruitful. Therefore, the city is all girt about with gardens and orchards over a good space, and these, by their number and variety of position, form a glad and grateful prospect. For all this, the city sometimes suffers from the plague;[1] whether it spring from the climate of the land itself, or be imported by the foreign merchants—Venetians, French and English—presently to be mentioned.

Within the walls it is nearly round in plan, and these are ancient, built of cut stone after the Moors' fashion.[2] Without are the much more extensive suburbs, whose outskirts also are fortified in a fashion, and have gates. There are forty-five wards—twenty within the walls, and twenty-five greater without. There may be in all twenty-six thousand good houses, mostly of well-wrought stone. Many are as great, fair and costly as heart could wish, and these not only of Turks and Moors, but the Jews, Greeks, and Armenians have many fit to harbour princes. Aleppo has three hundred mosques, of which seven are very

[1] "*Landre*"=a swollen gland or "bubo." The suggestion just below, that the Frankish merchants might import this disease, seems superfluous in respect of a city resorted to by caravans from a quarter of Western Asia, if not a little malicious. But I am inclined to think, that, as soon as Teixeira had got to the mention of foreign commerce, his pen ran away with him, and the plague remained forgotten. The disease referred to *might* be taken for the "Aleppo button"; but I think the plague is meant.

[2] Cf. the descriptions of Aleppo by Fr. Gaspar de São Bernardino (*Itinerario da India por Terra*, 1611, pp. 128 *et seq.*), John Cartwright (*The Preacher's Travels*, 1611, p. 8), and William Biddulph (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, pp. 1338 *et seq.*).—D. F.

splendid. Most of these, and almost all the *alcorans*, some of which are of wonderful height, have their roofs covered with sheet lead. This, as they are generally domes, in the form of half an orange, looks very well.

There are in the city many *khans* such as I have mentioned, like cloisters, where the foreign merchants shelter themselves and their goods. The natives also warehouse merchandise in these, because they are strong and safe buildings, all of cut stone, with strong gates and great iron chains to them. In the midst of some, and at the mosque-gates, are marble fountains, very clean and well-wrought, with good and abundant water. Some have cocks of bronze, that no water run to waste, and the surplus runs off by pipes underground.

There is a royal hospital, well endowed, though its officers do not keep it up as the king would have it: a failure too common in other lands, despite the duty of Christian charity. There are many *succos*, or marts,[1] all enclosed, built of cut stone and vaulted, strong and fair, full of shops and workshops of various trades.

The city streets are all paved with marble slabs. In the midst is a high mound, standing clear of all the rest on every side, and round as a heap of wheat. On this stands a fortress, which, according to the tradition of the Moors and Jews, was founded by King David's captain-general Joab, though it may be supposed that it must have been somewhat improved in course of time. Moreover, they affirm that the patriarch Abraham dwelt awhile there, and that his charity gave the place its name. For that holy man was wont to divide the milk of kine amongst the poor, who, in enjoyment of that privilege, came to seek their regular ration at the accustomed hour, and, as they came

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[1] *Súk* = a market or "bazar;" a street or quarter devoted to any trade or trades. [See *supra*, p. 49, note.—D. F.]

up, would say "Hhaleb." This, in Syrian, meant "Have they milked yet?" from which cry that name was given to the place; and I tell the tale as it was told to me by many.[1]

To return to the castle: the position is naturally strong, and appears, by remains yet visible, to have been improved by art; yet it is not as defensible as might be. It commands the city, indeed, and has some artillery, and all around the mount is a deep wet ditch, with a bridge. But the walls are not very strong; their plan is very simple. And it contains no water, but in one well rather salt than brackish. It is commonly held by an Aga, with one company of Janissaries, and the Pasha lives below in the city, in his private house.

There is a mint for gold and silver coin in the castle. The silver coins are *xays*, ten to one *real* of eight, and *madines*, of five to one *xay*.[2] This mint and the custom-house were in my time farmed and managed by Jews; the custom-house, by reason of the late war, only yielded to the king 200,000 sequins per annum clear, each worth thirteen *reales*.[3]

The inhabitants of this land are native Moors and Turks, and their two tongues, Arabic and Turkish, are those in common use; but in trade many speak Italian, French, and English, and some Spanish. Besides the Moors and Turks, there live here as natives many sorts of Christians—

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[1] *Halab* is "to milk," sure enough, in Arabic; but I can find no better comment on the etymology than my traveller's. [Couto (*Dec. IV*, Liv. v, cap. vii) gives the same legend, on the authority of Bishop D. Ambrosio, former Penitentiary of Pope Julian the Third, who came out to India by way of Turkey and Arabia. Wm. Biddulph (*loc. cit.*) says: "The *Turkes* . . . call *Aleppo* at this day, *Halep*, which signifieth Milke, because it yeeldeth great store of Milke."—D. F.]

[2] Cf. notes on pages 30 and 56, *supra*.—D. F.

[3] This passage is somewhat obscure. I have made the best I could of it. The figures of revenue are clear enough, and that they were affected by the war. This might be expected to affect the Customs as much as the Mint, if not more.

Armenians, Maronites, Chaldees, and Greeks. There are also Jews, of whom there are a thousand good houses in a ward of their own, within the walls. They have a great synagogue, which they affirm to be of fifteen hundred years' standing. Many of them are rich, most are merchants, some brokers or craftsmen, such as lapidaries, silversmiths, and of the like trades.

Of the native Christians, there may be fifteen hundred houses. Most of them live without the walls, and have every nation its own church. But all these are crowded together, little, poor, and ill-built. And if any stone or timber fall, or other matter, it may not be mended under pain of death. They have secular priests, to whom marriage is permitted, and celibate friars of the Orders of St. Gregory and St. Basil. They have a patriarch and an Armenian bishop. The bishop, at the time of our visit, was commonly held for a man of holy and exemplary life, and seemed such to me, on several occasions of conversation with him.

There resides in the city a Pasha, whose term of office is not fixed. He has a garrison of three thousand Janissaries, and many other troops, especially Segmenes. These, on account of their modern training and great number, have in those parts somewhat overshadowed the valour and honour of the Janissaries. This Pasha is supreme in peace or war.

There is a *kadi*, with civil and criminal jurisdiction. The *kadi* of our time was said, by both Moors and Christians, to be not only an accomplished natural philosopher, but a most upright judge.

The spiritual administration is in the hands of one whom they call *mofty*, answering to a bishop amongst us, which office is of great esteem and authority. It was held, when I was there, by a brother of that same Moor, my friend, concerning whom I have formerly related the case of his

camel's lame fore-foot.[1] He had come from Mexat Oçen by another route, without a *cafila*, and reached Aleppo long before us. When he learnt of my arrival, he came at once to look for me, and showed me much affection, paying frequent visits, and between them sending delicate presents, and ever wishing to do all he might for me. Whereby I might perceive what a good bargain it is to do well by one's neighbours, without distinction of persons; seeing that for trifling service once rendered to him I had so great favour of him, in places where it might much avail me in case of need.

The people of Aleppo are for the most part fair and well-favoured. The women, indeed, wear silken or sendal[2] veils in the streets, so that they can see and not be seen. But for all that, there are chances given to judge of their beauty by that of their daughters. Both sexes are generally well dressed, and the men go mostly on horseback.

There are in the city many public baths, very clean and handsome. There is abundance of all necessaries, except fish, which are scarce so far inland. Yet I have seen some Venetian gentlemen give splendid feasts of fish brought from Escandarona.[3] When I was there prices were high, because that very lately the city had been long and closely blockaded by the same Pasha whom I found in command.[4] He had been commissioned thither by the

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[1] *Ante*, p. 45.

[2] Cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, Prologue, ll. 439, 440:—

"In sangwin and in pers he clad was al,
Lyned with taffata and with *sendal*."

The word meant fine, gauzy stuff, either linen or silk. (For the history of the word, see Skeat's *Etym. Dict. of Eng. Lang.*).—D. F.

[3] Teixeira was in Aleppo *during Lent*, when the orthodox Venetians, if they were to give good dinners at all, must have fish of some sort.

[4] See *supra*, p. 71. Teixeira's story does not agree with that of Knolles, who (*loc. cit.*) says that it was the Pasha of Damascus that besieged Aleppo; and he states later on (p. 1258) that in 1605 the same Pasha, with the Pashas of Tripoli and Ghasir, set out once

Grand Turk. But the Pasha holding the town would not hand it over, alleging reasons of State. And there was much in what he said, *videlicit*—That his intended successor held lands of his own near by, and that it was not expedient for the Turk to give him this government close to them; that the appointment might have been made upon bad information, and so he would not hand over charge until the King should have better. But in the end he had to do so, on a second order, and went to Constantinople, carrying with him, from that government, which he held for a matter of two years, five hundred thousand ducats, or sequins, which come to even more.[1] So I was assured by credible persons.

The Frank merchants here are Venetians, French, and English. They live in *kanes* for convenience sake, and for the security of their persons and goods. Each of these nations has its own consul, who serves as a chief, to settle differences amongst themselves, and to transact all needful business with the Pasha, on behalf of his nation. Each has his *turgiman*, or interpreter, paid from common funds.

The Venetians had, at the time of our visit, fourteen merchants' houses, besides their consul's. Each house, besides the necessary mercantile establishment, has two chiefs, either of whom acts in the absence of the other. If the senior dies, or goes away, the second succeeds him: a good plan, I thought, to keep the thread of business unbroken. The trade here of that nation is worth from a million to a million and a-half in gold every year, in the

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again to besiege Aleppo, but that all three were defeated by the Pasha of the latter place. (See also G. de S. Bernardino, *op. cit.*, p. 129.) A third version is given by George Sandys (in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, p. 1331), who calls the Pasha of Aleppo "Ale Bassa."—D. F.

[1] Meaning that the Venetian sequin (the original ducat, or "duked" coin?) was worth more in exchange than the Spanish ducat (see p. 121). This Pasha was probably Nasúh, afterwards Grand Wazír, who was put to death in 1614. (Pietro Della Valle, Letter No. 2, from Constantinople, 25th October, 1614.)

way of imports from Venice; five or six thousand pieces of woollen cloth, as many more of silk and brocade, much cochineal, and the rest in silver coin. The returns are in raw silk, indigo, galls, cotton and cotton yarn, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, mace, pistachios, precious stones, seed pearls, gold coin, and many other articles. On all this property is levied a certain percentage, on behalf of what they call the *Cotimo*.[1] From this fund they pay the physician, apothecary, barber,[2] and the chaplains, Franciscan friars, who are well established in a chapel in a *kan*, where they meet for mass and sermon. The same fund is charged with the cost of presents made to the pashas and other captains; the *turgiman's* salary, and the pay of the couriers, who are sent monthly by Constantinople, three at a time, lest one or two fail.

To sum up, the consul will spend in three years, his usual term of office, from seventy to eighty thousand sequins or ducats. But this is not spent without consent of all the merchants, voting by ballot in the Venetian manner. The consul is always a noble, and the guardian of the friars is an ecclesiastic of authority, with full power from the Pope to grant absolution in all reserved cases, except of forged Letters or Bulls. Such is the custom and government of the Venetian gentlemen in Aleppo.

Their manner of life is liberal and noble, and their equipment not only decent but distinguished. From many of them I received frequent favours during my residence; and so are they ever wont to use strangers, as to whom they are well assured.

The French likewise have their consul, appointed for

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[1] The tax was two per cent. levied by Venetian consuls in the Levant, in London and Bruges, on goods exported by Venetian merchants; levied also, in Constantinople, on goods imported from the Levant, Bruges, or London (see note on p. 284 of *Calendar of State Papers—Venice, etc.*, vol. x, 1603-1607).—D. F.

[2] Doubtless a "barber-surgeon."

life by their king. He lives in France, and sends hither a deputy, who pays him every year about three thousand ducats. He, too, has a chapel in his house, which is in a *kan*; and a chaplain who says mass, which some of them attend. Their houses, in my time, were five in number; but the number of them who come and go is much greater than that of the Venetians. Their trade to Aleppo may be worth eight hundred thousand ducats, on which they pay, over and above the Turkish dues, four per cent—*videlicet*, two to the consul and two to the ambassador of France at Constantinople. Their imports consist almost entirely of silver bullion.

In other matters they are far from equalling the order, rule, and policy of the Venetians. The French consul has, by special privilege from the Turk, the protection of all foreign Christians whatever, not being of the nations admitted to a regular trade. Whoever avails himself of this enjoys the same exemptions as the French, and of such there are some traders, Flemings[1] and men of Lucca.

There are three English houses, whose consul is a private merchant.[2] Their trade may be worth three hundred thousand ducats. They import little coin, but London *caryseas*,[3] and other cloths, lead, tin, copper, weapons, and the like.[4]

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[1] These "Flemings" were very probably Hollanders. In the thirteenth chapter, though there is a ship, "*de Holanda*," taking in cargo at Salinas, there are no "*Holandezes*," but "*Flamencos*," ashore; where Spanish subjects were then liable to be treated as enemies. The Dutch were often called "Flemings" for many years after this.

[2] William Biddulph, who visited Aleppo a year or two before Teixeira, says (*loc. cit.*) that he and his companions "were kindly entertayned at *Cane Burgol* by the worshipfull *Richard Colthurst*, Esquire, Consull for the *English* nation there."—D. F.

[3] That is, kerseys. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Kerseymere." (Cf. also *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, p. 1 *n*).—D. F.

[4] In this year (1605) the Turkey Company's twelve years' charter expired, and was renewed in perpetuity by James I; a great increase in trade thereupon ensued (see Causton and Keane's *Early Chartered Companies*, p. 75 *et seq.*, and *Calendar of State Papers—Venice, etc.*, vol. x, Preface, p. liii *et seq.*).—D. F.

The ships annually employed in the Aleppo trade are usually four or five Venetians, two or three English, and more than twenty French bottoms. There were also here two houses of Flemings, doing business with about a hundred and fifty thousand ducats on an average. It may be more, or much less, according as times may go.

This city is eighty miles from the Mediterranean Sea, and all sea-borne imports and exports use the port of Alexandreta, which the Turks and Moors call Scandarona. The importance of these can be understood from this, that one year with another the hire of camels to and fro, though commonly at very reasonable rates, comes to eighty thousand sequins, worth about ninety thousand ducats: a sum which I should doubt if I had not made up the account thereof minutely, with certain gentlemen there, to make sure of my matter.

There are woven in Aleppo many and good silks of all sorts; and in the suburbs much white hard soap is made, and greatly exported in all directions. The people use commonly vessels of tinned copper, very bright and clean, and the poor use earthenware, of which much is made, but not fine. They use also glass, which is much made in the neighbourhood, but of indifferent quality. The coffee-houses[1] are well built and furnished, adorned with numerous lamps, for that their chief custom is at night, though they have enough by day also. There are public places for archery and musketry, and for the practice of horsemanship. For every sabbath[2] evening there turn out many horsemen, sometimes a thousand strong, and play with the jarîd[3] for pastime and practice.

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[1] "*Casas de Kaoáh*" (see *supra*, p. 62). William Biddulph (*loc. cit.*) describes these "*Coffa houses*" and the "*Coffa*" drink.—D. F.

[2] Meaning here, probably, Friday, the *Musalman* sabbath. *Vide supra*, p. 34, for the same custom at Basra.

[3] "*Iuegan las cannas*," the well-known javelin-play of Oriental horsemen.

Every year, after the *Ramedon* of the Moors (their season of fast), there leaves Aleppo a *cafila* for Meka. It joins another at Damascus, whence they march together. One set forth during my stay, on the 4th of March. It was a sight to see the assembly of the people, and the joy and acclamation of countless men, women, and children, of every age, sex, and condition, who escorted the pilgrims for two miles forth of the city. The Pasha and the Mofty, and all the great men came forth on that escort, and there was a fine jarîd-play, and great music. All which they did in zeal for their false religion, for that they think they win pardons and indulgences by escorting those pilgrims who go to Meka or Medina.

There were in that caravan about three thousand camels, many horses, and a great number of other pack-beasts. There may have been eight hundred souls—men, women, and children; and there was much merchandize, and a great deal of money, which passes on to India by that way.

The town of Aleppo has ten gates[1] around it, all shut at night. In one of these, which is under a tower, is a dark place fenced with gratings, wherein is a tomb held in veneration by the Moors, and around it are constantly burning lamps and candles. The Franks calls this the Gate of St. George, whose body some think to be within it, because the Moors say that a holy knight lies here. But probably he was one of their own people, held for such by them.[2]

Four days' journey east of Aleppo, that is, two to the river Euphrates, and two more beyond it in Mesopotamia, is the very ancient city of Orfa. It was of old called Ur,

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[1] Fr. Gaspar de S. Bernardino (*loc. cit.*) says that there were twelve gates, and gives the names of the six principal ones.—D. F.

[2] William Biddulph says (*loc. cit.*) that this was the shrine of a naked madman named "Sheh Boubac."—D. F.

and there the Chaldees wanted to burn Abraham. There is yet a place in it known by that name, and held in great respect. They show also a fountain wherein breed good fish, but to eat them is held for sacrilege; because, as they say, the spring burst forth by miracle to quench that fire wherein the people would burn the holy Patriarch. Without that town is seen a well, which they affirm to be the same whereat Rebecca (whom they call Rafka) gave water to Abraham's servant and his camels, when he came to seek a bride for Izach.

Now I will make an end of the matters in Aleppo, on which I have dwelt at too great length, and resume my route in the next chapter; winding up with the remark that the country is good, though ill-wooded, but its folk are of bad character, and of little courtesy.

CHAPTER XII.

How I left Aleppo, and came to Scandarona.

I WAS about two months in Aleppo, awaiting the chance of a ship for Venice, which does not happen every day. At last, we heard that one then loading in Scandarona had taken in well nigh all the cargo that she was to carry thence. Whereupon all we who meant to take passage in her made ourselves ready, and, being duly provided for the way, left Aleppo on Holy Tuesday, the 5th of April, 1605.

I joined company with two Venetian gentlemen, Piero dal Ponte[1] and Dominico Calegary, from whom I received many and special favours in Aleppo, and in the course of

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[1] The Della Pontes of Venice were a noted family of engineers, several of whom served under the Portuguese in India (see Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 364, *n.*) Piero was probably a relation of Agostino dal Ponte, the capture of whose ship by a Dutch privateer s referred to on pp. 63 and 129 of *Calendar of State Papers—Venice, etc.*, vol. x.—D. F.).

our voyage. Diego de Melo also came with us; and, beside our mess, there came many other Franks, to take passage for Venice in that ship.

We left the city at four in the evening, escorted by the whole Venetian nation, and by most of the French. Two miles on the way is a hamlet, by modern custom the limit of this compliment; and here we parted from them with expressions of brotherly love, and feelings of lasting gratitude for their kindness. We took the northern road, and, passing many hamlets, halted for the night in one called Nibùl,[1] with more pleasure than convenience, for little we found there.[2] It may be four or five leagues from the city.

On Wednesday, the 6th, we got to saddle and started before dawn, through rough, stony, and barren mountains, where we saw the remains of many old towns and castles, and of some churches.[3] At midday we descended the range into a low, wide plain, where we dismounted to rest awhile, and to eat a mouthful, for we had not yet broken our fast. But there was no shade, and the sun beat down on us so hot as to make us move on. We had to cross a river of good and clear water, called the Afrin, about sixty paces wide, flowing from east to west, and fordable in places; so that most of us forded it on horseback. But at last one

[1] Not on my maps, but apparently near a place marked by Hughes as "Tokát," which, it seems, may possibly mean "The Cross-Roads."

[2] What is meant is that the travellers, after a march of about five hours, latterly in the dark, were glad to halt, but found little accommodation. It is not much to the Aleppo merchants' credit that they laid out their first march so ill. Our author, of course, had to fall in with their arrangements. The courteous reader will have noticed that all Teixeira's previous first marches, arranged by competent Asiatic Kafila-Bashis, were short, as those of all caravans not under strict military discipline should be. Most of this party seem to have been on horseback. The word translated below "got to saddle" is "*cavalgamos.*"

[3] These mountains are marked on Hughes's Map "Amguli Tagh," with a "Ruined Convent of St. Simeon." The Afrin (ancient Ufrenus) is shown on most maps without a name, but named on Hughes's.

mule, laden with my bed and a hamper[1] of Diego de Melo's, lost the ford, and all its load was soaked, and the beast in peril of drowning. Now Diego had in his hamper some papers, which, he said, were of importance to him. And when he saw it getting wet, he ran up storming and screaming and bewailing their loss. The merchants had engaged in Aleppo two Segmenes—a petty officer and his brother —to escort us to the gate of Scandarona; for without such escort travel is unsafe in those parts, especially for Frank Christians. Now, one of these, witnessing the distress and clamour of Diego de Melo, jumped into the water and took some trouble with the hamper, which he had much better have left alone; for it bred us as much vexation as up to that time we had pleasure in our journey. When the Segmene had got the hamper ashore, he asserted that its owner had said it was worth ten or twelve thousand ducats, and that he should be paid accordingly for his trouble. Hereupon arose a thousand disputes, settled in the end with cash, which is everywhere the surest and speediest cure of such ills, when a man knows how to use it aright. Later on, we heard that the officer had said in Aleppo that they were underpaid for their escort at twenty ducats, but would seek occasion to add something to their wage on the road; and so it happened that this trouble served his turn best. For my part, I was little surprised, bearing in mind how I had seen a good deal worse done, by such as had the power, when travelling in our own land of Spain.

When this squall had blown over we marched on, and

[1] I have translated *canastro* "hamper," following the dictionaries. But the thing was certainly what is called in Western India a *pétárá*. It is a bamboo hamper covered with leather, and closed with a short chain, staple, and padlock. Such *pétárás* are still used for the carriage of records by district officers on tour. Pietro Della Valle mentions them in the 6th Letter from India (dated 9th December, 1623); and, though Havers seems to have bungled the translation, there can be no doubt of what the traveller meant. He says that the Portuguese called them *canestri*. *Pétárás* are excellent trunks, and very durable. No doubt Diego de Melo's had come with him from Goa.

halted for the night on a great meadow, where many horses were at pasture. For the Turks are wont so to use them in the spring, before taking the field. Our camp was pitched by two streams, one sulphurous,[1] and one as good as may be, not four paces apart. We kept good watch until dawn.

On Thursday, the 7th of April, we broke up camp two hours before sunrise, and marched off over very good land albeit hilly. After that we got into marshy ground, in whose waters breed many fish, thought unwholesome. In the fields were many wild swine, which, as the folk thereabouts do not eat them, live unmolested and breed in great numbers.

Presently we came out on another very wide plain, and as we crossed it we came in sight of a long chain of lofty mountain ranges. After crossing two stone bridges, made where needful, one over good running water, and one over mud and bog, we halted at mid-day, to rest in the shade of the parapet of a third, very great and famous. This is called the White Bridge, and gives that name to the river,[2] which may be fifty paces wide. It has a greater flow than the last, though it be less clear, and in both good fish are taken.

After resting here until two in the afternoon, we marched off, and it was half-past four when we crossed the remainder of the plain, and began to ascend the mountains.

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[1] This "sulphurous" stream must be represented by the name "Hammam" on Hughes's Map, which therefore marks the halting-place.

[2] This river of the White Bridge *may* be Hughes's Akpunar, or White Springs. Berghaus calls it "R. Ein-ak Stadt" (Ruins of the town of White Springs). The position of the Kara Su would suit better with the narrative; but that means Black River. I suspect some error, either of our traveller or of the maps. "Ein Ak" is half Arabic and half Turkish, and, if this is Teixeira's place and river, he has omitted all notice of the much more important Kara Su, which he must have crossed.

Before proceeding with our journey, I will observe shortly that it were hard to say what was best worth note on that day's march. The surface and quality of the land, the scenery, the various flowers and their fragrance, the several birds and their songs, the springs and rivers, the lakes, and the cattle at pasture, all demanded our admiration. It was spring-time; the climate temperate, the air pure, and the land good and fertile; so one may conceive our pleasure, and how much we had to praise God for.[1]

We now began to climb the range, which is nothing inferior to the plain. Its abundance of springs and streams is a wonder, and it is covered with laurels, myrtles, plane-trees, wild-olives,[2] fig-trees, almonds, pistachio-trees, pines, and firs, and with a thousand herbs and flowers. And the sight and smell of these lighten the toil of the ascent, which is severe, for the pass is lofty and the way rough. The peaks are covered with deep white snow, and wreathed in clouds, above which their crests can be seen; and amidst their hollows, many of them very precipitous, are some glens of excellent soil and pasture.

As we ascended the range, we saw all the plains that we had crossed, and all in them, as if upon a map; and especially that the two rivers, the springs and streams that we had passed, formed a lake.[3] I supposed it to be five or six leagues around. It lies near a hill, on which was once the city of Antioch, whose ruins yet remain there. We

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[1] An unusual flight for Teixeira; and one to which, I fear, the translation does little justice. The excuse is, that passages of this nature cannot be fairly rendered from Spanish into a Northern tongue —nor *vice versâ*.

[2] "*Olivastros*"—apparently an old word. *Oliveras* is the modern dictionary word.

[3] The Lake of Antioch, or of Ufrenus, now the "Bahr-el-Abiad." The pass is that of Bailán, the old "Syrian Gates," and its elevation on Hughes's Map, here not very clear, seems to be 4584 feet.

ascended the range until half-past six o'clock in the evening, when, finding a convenient nook, we halted there for that night.

On Good Friday, the 8th of April, we started two hours before dawn; and after one hour's further ascent, over good ways and bad, we began to descend the range on its northern side. With the first smile of the morning we entered a town called Bilán,[1] from which all the range is called Gibel Bilan, or the Bilan Mountain. It stands on the sides of a great glen, and the site is not as fertile as others thereabouts. Yet, by favour of a river that flows through it from the mountain, the crops are equal to those of the best land. There is so much water, that, though it is diverted into seven canals, every one of them is itself a fine stream, besides an eighth, which enters a conduit-head, and flows from it by three great pipes into a reservoir built all of well-cut stone. Its waste forms a stream, which, after a course of five or six paces, falls by a gap through a building of public use built over it, which has three separate apartments, with their doors; the cleanest, best contrived, and most convenient thing for the use of the Moors that ever I saw amongst them.

There was in this town a large *khan*, well-built of cut stone and lime, for the use of the *cafilas* when they halt there; also a coffee-house, and a court for the *kady*, or justice, some other public buildings, and a mosque with an *alcoran*, all of cut stone. Besides these, there may be about four hundred little houses, each with one story, one room, and a flat roof, built of small stones, clay, and earth.[2] This town was much ruined, and half deserted,

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[1] William Biddulph (*loc. cit.*) gives the rhyming inscription on the tomb of a Henry Morison buried here.—D. F.

[2] "Clay" and "earth" really are two different things here. Well mixed and wrought clay is used in some parts of such houses, and loam in others.

by reason of the frequent passage of the soldiers called Segmenes. For wherever soldiers come, be their discipline and manners the best they may, all over the world they are worse than locusts.

We only stayed here until our baggage-mules came up, which was in about half an hour. Then we continued to descend the range, and the lower we got the better and brighter was the land. The day was young; a fresh breeze bore abroad the scent of flowers and sound of falling waters, arousing many nightingales and other song-birds to the praise of their Creator. So, though all the march was toilsome, we felt it not; but ever beguiling our way with some new sight, we made an end of the descent, and came out upon the plain.

Now came in view the Mediterranean Sea, and the ships in the road of Scandarona. This is at one end[1] of a gulf that lies between Comagèna, in Syria, and the plains and ranges of Caramania, which last lay before us, at a distance of about ten leagues northwards.

As we entered the plain, there came out on us from an ambush five mounted lancers, whom by their dress and hail we took for Turks; and so they made us uncomfortable enough. But they were presently known for Venetian merchants of the port, friends and correspondents of our comrades, come on advice of our arrival to meet and bring us home. Hereupon our alarm was changed into double joy; and after kindly greetings we rode all together across the plain, which is mostly marshy, and so very unhealthy, to the gate of Scandarona.

So is this place called by the Moors and Turks, meaning,

[1] That is, at one heel of the horse-shoe curve of the coast, forming the Gulf of Alexandretta, the old *Issicus Sinus*. On modern maps the curve is prolonged some way to the south-west, forming an outer gulf. But Teixeira's description is not inaccurate.

in European tongues, Alexandreta, or Little Alexandria. In old time it was a city, begirt with great and strong walls of cut stone and lime; whereof are yet standing some fragments, and within them the ruins of some houses of like construction.[1] Of this ancient city there are told a thousand legends, which I omit, as of little value or authority.

We rode on to the shore, where are some houses of the Franks, who live here to look after their trade. Formerly this passed to Aleppo, eighty miles hence, by the port of Tripoli, in Syria. But, having trouble with the pashas there, they withdrew hither about fifteen years ago. They are but ill pleased with the place, because it is inconvenient to send the goods so far by land.[2] There are here a few houses, built all of wood, and roofed with the same,[3] or else thatched. Only three are of cut stone and lime, with terraced roofs; and on one of these are two or three

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[1] Cf. the descriptions of Thomas Dallam, who was there in 1599 (*Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, Hakluyt Soc., p. 30), and William Biddulph, who visited the place a few years later (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, p. 1337).—D. F.

[2] As *Tripoli* is at least twice as far from Aleppo as Alexandretta, the passage must mean that Tripoli was not only a port but a mart, where at least part of the goods could be sold off. Alexandretta, *per contra*, was nothing but the port of Aleppo; and the Franks had to trouble themselves with land transport of all their goods to that mart.

[On February 1st, 1616, the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople wrote to the Doge and Senate that the Turks "have decided that, as Alexandretta is an open roadstead, it is a veritable temptation to pirates, and that its business shall be removed to Tripoli in Syria, where it first was established" (*Calendar of State Papers, Venice, etc.*, vol. x, p. 318). George Sandys, writing in 1610 (in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, p. 1330) of Tripoli, says:—"Hither of late the *Grand Signior* hath remoued the Scale which was before at *Alexandretta*. . . . Notwithstanding, the merchants doe offer great summes of Money to haue it restored vnto that place, as more conuenient for their Traffick with *Aleppo* (the principall Mart of that part of *Asia* for Silkes, and sundry other Commodities), from thence but three daies iourney, being eight from *Tripoly*: which the *Turke* will not as yet assent to, for that divers ships have beene taken out of that Rode by Pirats, there being no Forts for protection, nor no fit place to erect them on."—D. F.]

[3] Presumably "shingled."

bronze guns, for defence against some loose banditti, who sometimes try to molest the merchants. Among the houses there are two churches: one Latin, belonging to the Franks, and served by an Italian Franciscan friar. The other is Greek, served by a *caloyro*,[1] or monk of the Greek Church. There are here three vice-consuls, Venetian, French and English, serving under the consuls at Aleppo.[2]

This is the Gulf of Layaça, which Lodovico Ariosto describes in his 19th Canto,[3] and to this day there stand the two castles. One, called Castel Marquez, is to the northward at the foot of the mountain, sea-beaten, and almost in ruins. The other, on the south side, is yet in good condition. These are on the horns of the half-moon which the port resembled, as it still does.[4] But, because the sea has thrown up new sands on the shore, this southern castle now stands back a little from the water's edge. The name of Gulf of Layaça is derived from a maritime city of that name, very ancient, standing opposite, on the coast of Caramania.[5]

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[1] That is, a *caloyer* (see *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. v.* ; and see also *infra*, p. 142.).—D. F.

[2] "Thare is but 3 houstile [hostelries], one Itallian, one Franche, and one Inglishe," says Dallam (*op. cit.*, p. 31).—D. F.

[3] Of his *Orlando Furioso;* the 54th stanza of which commences :—

"Nel golfo di Laiazzo in ver Soría
Sopra una gran città si trovò sorto,
E sì vicino al lito, che scopría
L 'uno e l' altro castel che serra il porto."

It is possible that Teixeira made his first acquaintance with the *Orlando* during his stay at Venice, in one of the many editions printed there. He refers to Orlando in Bk. I, chap. xviii, of his *Kings of Persia*, in a passage with which Stevens has taken considerable liberties.—D. F.

[4] This is *not* the "horse-shoe" of the Gulf of Alexandretta, but a lesser curve, forming the mere harbour of the place.

[5] "Ayas Kalá," ancient Aegae of Cilicia, near the mouth of the Pyramus, or Jihún. Distinguish "Ayasalúk," the ancient Ephesus, far westwards; also called "Layas" by the mediæval Franks. The "*L*" is the Italian definite article, and we shall see more of its use before we put our traveller ashore for good.

There is great resort of ships to this port.[1] For, besides the Venetians, French, and English, who come regularly, there use it many *caramusales*,[2] which are vessels very like our Portuguese caravels. They come hither from Egypt, Alexandria, Tripol, Cypro, Candia, Constantinople, and many other ports, with merchandize and provisions.[3]

Here we kept Easter,[4] which fell on the 10th of April, with joy enough. And, as the ship waited but for us, we departed next day, as I shall tell in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

How we sailed from Scandarona, and came to the Isle of Sypro.

ON Tuesday evening, the 12th April, 1605, we went aboard a Venetian ship which had lain ten months here, delayed by reason of the wars of Aleppo. If she had sailed when due, I must have waited some months after for another, or taken passage on a French or English ship, which are always to be found here; but that did not suit me. For, besides that I held them less safe for passengers, I had special business in Venice, which made that my proper port. The ship was called *Rizarda*, because she belonged to Franciso[5] Rizardi, a citizen of Venice.[6] She was of over

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[1] Alexandretta, *not* Ayas Kalá.

[2] Turkish *karamusal* (cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, etc.*, vol. x, pp. 110, 136, 137).—D. F.

[3] "Egypt" here means the Nile ports, Rosetta and Damietta. "Tripol" is the Syrtic Tripolis, more probably than the Syrian, already referred to in this chapter.

[4] Evidently including Easter Monday, the 11th. The passage runs: "*Aqui tuuimos la Pascua de Resurrection, que fue en dies de Abril, celebrada con harto gusto y contento.*" This is perhaps the most Christian phrase in the *Voyage*, and is itself little more than conventional.

[5] *Sic in orig.*

[6] Possibly a relative of Giovanni Rizzardo, the Venetian Ducal Notary.—D. F.

five hundred tons burden; on her first voyage, well officered and armed, mounting twenty-three bronze guns; and was very handsome and roomy.

We made sail at the end of the middle watch;[1] but presently cast anchor again, the wind heading us. After sunrise, on Wednesday, the 13th, we made a fresh start, beating out against light head-winds, until Friday morning. Then we got a little of a pretty fair east wind, and ran down the coast of Syria to Cape Canzir, that is "the Boar's Head," which lies seventy miles, or twenty-four leagues, from Scandarona.[2] The coast-line was all of high ranges covered with deep snow. On our right, at twenty odd miles' distance, lay Caramania, also a very mountainous country, whose hills are inhabited by many races. It was pleasant at night to see the numerous lights about their houses. On that coast is the fortified city of Layaça, whereof I have already spoken: once great, now unimportant.

The wind not serving us on one tack, we went about and stood on the other, until the pilot thought that we were between Cypro and the mainland.[3] Whereupon he altered the course to the southward, and on that we sailed for a day and night. On Wednesday morning, the 20th, we made the eastern point of the Isle, short of the southern promontory, which was on our right course.[4] Here we got a fair wind, and ran all day down the coast of the Isle, for the port of Salinas.[5] We were within twenty miles of it when the wind shifted to seaward, so that we could not

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[1] "*Madorra.*"

[2] The distance, as the crow flies, is about twenty-seven English statute miles, on Hughes's Map, so the Venetians may have misinformed Teixeira. But this sentence and the next seem to be corrupt.

[3] Of Syria.

[4] The eastern point must have been Cape Andrea of our charts. The "southern" was probably Cape Kiti, but may have been Cape Griego. The baffling winds were evidently south-westers.

[5] The "Salt-pans" near modern Larnaka whereof more presently.

make it before eleven in the morning of the next day; where with some trouble, for want of wind, we anchored near three ships in the road. Two of these were Venetian and one Dutch. They were taking in the staple produce of the Isle, that is, cotton, with which our ship also was to complete her lading.

The nearest point of this Isle is two hundred miles from Alexandretta. It is two hundred and eighty miles long,[1] and seven hundred all about; it lies fifty or sixty miles south of Caramania, but has no important port on the north coast. The land is not very mountainous; it is fertile, and its produce all of excellent quality, but none of great amount, nor at all equal to what it yielded to the Venetians.[2] It has plenty of cotton, exporting more than five thousand bags a year, every one of least twenty *arrobas*[3] of Castille. It exports also three thousand bags of very fine wool, for the sake of which the Venetians trade here, and have a consul; and so also the English, French, and Flemings.[4] There is some export of silk and sugar, plenty of excellent wine, and of cheeses, and of some other produce. The trade was great in former days, but has much fallen off since the Turkish conquest.

The natives are Christian Greeks, and use Greek customs.[5] Here only does one see Christian subjects of the Turk wearing hats. In no other province are they allowed more

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[1] This group of distances is all wrong, and cannot be reduced to any scale that I can think of.

[2] Expelled by the Turks, 1571.

[3] The *arroba* is given in the dictionaries as of twenty-five *libras*, each a little more than our pound avoirdupois, and rather less than the old French *livre*. Whitaker's Almanac gives one *arroba* of weight, that of the Philippine Isles, as 25.360 *lb.* avoirdupois. So the cotton bale of Cyprus was of about 307 *lb.*, roughly. Captain Stevens, however, puts it at 500 cwt. in his time.

[4] It is not quite clear that these nations had consuls. The passage is rather obscure.

[5] "*Griegos Christianos, peró hazen à la Griegia.*" Stevens takes "*la Griegia*" to mean "the Greek rite," which seems likely enough.

than a cloth hood, usually trimmed with fur, or a cap, which is blue, or trimmed with blue, for the Greeks, and red for the Armenians. The Jews, in out-of-way places, wear blue and red, but near the capital they have tawny or violet bonnets, which conceal the face, like those of the the Portuguese secular priests; and these are instead of the yellow cap which they formerly wore. None may wear the white turban but the Moors and Turks; nor of them may any wear green, except the *xaryfes*. These are of the kin of Mahamed, and that badge is restricted to them; that so they may be known for Seydes, and of that race. If a man of any other were to wear it, he would be well punished. If any of these cannot afford a green turban, it suffices him to wear a green patch in a white one, and no other can wear green except the soldiers, whose law is their own good pleasure.

To return to Cipro: the natives call it in their tongue Chipro, like the Portuguese. The Italians, as in Latin,[1] call it Cipro, the Turks and Moors, Kabros. Whence, it appears, the golden cruzados are there called *kobrasy*. There are several ports on the southern coast; the best is that of the Salinas, to which we came. It is named from its salt-pans, which export much salt to Venice on account of the Signory; a trade not permitted to any subject.[2] The freight is set off against the advance of 10,000 ducats, granted by the Signory to any one building a ship of 500 tons or more.

This port, though open, is good, safe, and has good bottom. Great ships anchor about half a league from the shore in twelve and fifteen fathoms. The Isle has two

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[1] "*Con el latino*"!

[2] Of Venice; nor, within Venetian waters, to one of any other power. [From a curious document translated in *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, etc.*, vol. x, p. 95, it appears that in 1603 the salt-pans were farmed by an Englishman named Pervis.—D. F.]

capitals, Nicosia and Famagosta, now not a shadow of their former selves. There are many towns and hamlets.

When we came to the port of Salinas, the Pasha of the Isle was there, building a sea-fort, for fear of the Spanish and Maltese fleets then in those seas. It was not great, but strong, and well planned for the defence of the port.

About a league inland is the town of Arniqua,[1] where dwell the local Frank merchants. It may have three hundred houses, poor and small, built of stone and mud, with terraced roofs. But, in proof of its importance before the Turkish conquest, there stands yet a square stone belfry, now used as an *alcoran*, but once belonging to a Franciscan convent. One side of the cloister also survives, with its pillars and cells, turned into a Turkish barrack. Opposite this, the remains of the magistrate's palace are yet to be seen.

On our arrival, the Venetian gentlemen went ashore, and with them Diego de Melo.

I held it safer to stay aboard; for Spanish subjects cannot there trust themselves freely amongst the Turks without imprudence. When they do, it is with fear, and with precaution, that they be not known and accused of some treason. Least of all is it safe for such, like that *hidalgo*, as know not how to serve the time.

In short, when they got ashore, his own company forced him to return aboard ship that same day, lest he should, by his bearing, draw notice, and breed them some trouble—the more as the Pasha was on the spot. He went no more ashore; but after two days the Venetians sent me a note to say, that, if I cared for what little was there to be had,[2] I could come ashore, for they were looking out for me on the

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[1] Now *Larnaka*, the Italian definite article having become part of the name, as we saw in the older case of Layasa. It represents ancient Citium.

[2] We shall see below that there was dearth in the Isle.

beach. I did so at once, and went with them to Harniqua, where we took shelter in the house of Juan Battista de Francisco, a friend of theirs, who used us nobly. They had assembled to address the Pasha, who was walking on the wall of his fort under construction. I went with them, and saw and took good note of the work, and of the Pasha's conversation, which to my mind showed him ill-disposed enough, to judge by his answers.[1]

The Venetian gentlemen had there a chapel, and for its chaplain a Franciscan friar: a good monk, as his conduct showed. Without any desert of mine, from pure kindness, he showed me a thousand favours while I was there; and when we embarked he presented me with some holy relics, and some provisions out of a garden that he tilled with his own hand.

In the course of our various conversations, he told me that upon information from some of the natives he had more than once taken earth from a certain part of the Isle and assayed it, and that very pure gold could be extracted from it in a reasonable proportion. He told me this on his credit as a monk, and that the Turks had no knowledge of it, nor would the natives tell them of it. All which I believe, because that monk told it to me, who could get nothing by doing so.[2]

I saw here on the beach some heaps of a very fine earth, of various colours: grey, green, and dark or bright red, which is dug in some parts of the Isle. I was told that the Flemish ships carry it to Flanders as dye-stuff.[3]

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[1] Small blame to the Pasha, when he saw Pedro "taking good note" of his new fort, though he knew him not for an enemy's subject.

[2] There is nothing improbable in the story. The mineral wealth of Cyprus is of old fame, and the Cypriots had every reason for saying and doing nothing about it: while the Turks were not likely to find anything for themselves.

[3] "*Para tintas.*" [It is curious that Teixeira speaks of an "earth" for dyeing, and says nothing of madder, of which Cyprus used to grow and export a large quantity.—D. F.]

The land bears terebinths, which yield the perfect terebintine;[1] and much very pure ladanum is obtained from certain bushes like wild sage.[2] It is collected by running over these a taut rope, to which the gum sticks. For they say that the touch of hands or tools enfeebles the plants, and makes them infertile: which has probably been learnt by experience. There is here also a good trade in storax,[3] calaminta,[4] opium, agaric,[5] and saffron, all brought from the mainland of Caramania, which produces them of the best and in plenty.

Although this isle is by nature fertile, and all things plentiful and cheap, we found here nothing but dearth and high prices, by reason of a murrain amongst cattle, which had hindered ploughing. In the summer it is very hot, and the sun dangerous to men unused to that climate.

CHAPTER XIV.

How we sailed from Cipro, and what befel us until we came to the Isle of Zante.

WHEN our ship had taken in the cargo that was here for her, and was ready for sea, we went aboard. The Venetian gentlemen would not let me do so but in their com-

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[1] "Mastic," the gum-resin of certain *Pistaciæ*.

[2] Gum cistus, gum-resin of *Cistus ladanifera*. There have been from ancient times, and are yet, such beliefs about this plant, and such ways of collecting the gum. Something of the sort is said to be done in respect of *charas* (the gum-resin of hemp) in Central Asia (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, 1874, p. 495).

[3] *Liquidambar orientalis*, of the Hamamelideæ, a tree of Asia Minor, yields liquid storax, or styrax; or "Rose Malloes," a resin. (*Pharmacographia, s. v.*)

[4] *Sic in orig.* Probably *Mentha sylvestre*. But perhaps a misprint for "*calamita*," an inferior storax produced by some *reed* (*calamus*), whence this name. The other is good Greek—*kala minthé*.

[5] Two agarics were used in old practice: (*a*) the white, or larch agaric, emetic and purgative; (*b*) the oak agaric, or *amadon*, used to staunch wounds by *mechanical* action (Littré). These are so little used now that they are not in the *Pharmacographia*.

pany. This was on Sunday evening, the 1st of May, and on Monday, the 2nd, we made sail in the morning watch. We had baffling winds at first, and they were changeable until the morning of the 11th, when we saw in the north the high mountains of Caramania, all covered with snow. We were then off Castel Rosso, a place in the middle of the Gulf.[1] That day we ran westwards, our right course, before a good east wind, until, about five in the evening, being up with the Isle of Rhodes, we sighted four galleys. The ship was cleared for action, having good guns and gunners, plenty of ammunition and firearms.

The galleys were soon near us, and, although our captain knew them for galleys of Malta, he did not want them to close, knowing of the unjustifiable doings[2] of Christian ships and galleys upon Venetian ships from Syria, like ours.[3] They made signal of safe-conduct, namely, by making a certain smoke.[4] But our people, knowing from their formation that they meant mischief, kept aloof from them. So they chased us all the rest of that day under sail,[5] engaging us astern; and in so short a time they fired twenty-four shot at us from their bow-chasers,[6] without effect, and the ship answered them with her two six-pounder stern-chasers.[7]

With nightfall the wind rose, and lasted all the night

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[1] This, I think, is the "Kastelorizo" of our charts, a corrupt Levantine name. It is *not* in the middle of the Gulf of Adalia, the nearest shown on modern maps, but in that of a great bight, formed by Cyprus on the east, Rhodes, Carpathus, and Crete on the west. The mountains were probably the Ak Dágh, or Western Taurus, 10,000 feet high, and the ship was somewhere near 35 deg. N. lat., and 30 deg. E. long.

[2] "*Sin razones*," a favourite phrase of our traveller's.

[3] On Maltese and other privateers (including English), which abounded in the Mediterranean at this period, see *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, etc.*, vol. x, *passim*.—D. F.

[4] "*Humo*." A dictionary meaning is "black gauze." But the smoke signal is very ancient and widespread.

[5] "*En ala*."

[6] "*Croxia*," French *coursier*.

[7] "*Dos cañones gruesos de seys que traya por popa.*

in which we made about eighty miles. But though it was strong, and the sea ran high, the galleys chased us until morning. At sunrise they were close aboard, and it fell calm. They took in sail, which they had not done all night, and made another signal, which the ship answered.

On better advice, they now sent us a boat, with a Knight of Malta, and the flagship's pilot, who came alongside and asked leave to come aboard; which given, they did so. They wanted the clerk[1] to come with them, to have speech of their chief captain, but he could not, being sick, and so sent an assistant clerk, such as they carry in those ships.

He went and excused himself, saying that they had not recognised the galleys, and had orders to trust none, for fear of wiles and stratagems, which the Moorish and Turkish corsairs are wont to use (and that's true).[2] With this, and with a not very costly present of pistachios and soap,[3] the commodore was content, and warned us against certain corsairs cruising on that sea; and especially of one great ship, wherein was a Genoese named Spindola [*sic*],[4] a Knight of Malta, who had fitted out in Sicily (whence ships commonly sail for plunder),[5] in disobedience to his Order. Diego de Melo, who had come so far in the ship, now left her in some discontent, and took passage with the galleys.[6]

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[1] "*Escrivano.*" Stevens translates "purser," but "supercargo would be better.

[2] Brackets *in orig.*

[3] *Xabonetes.*

[4] Very probably "Francisco Spinola, the Genoese," referred to in a letter from Don Pedro de Valdes to the King of Spain, dated Brussels, 29th March, 1593, translated in *Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv, p. 598.—D. F.

[5] Author's brackets.

[6] "And for this relief much thanks," or some such sentiment, one would have expected from a less philosophical writer than our placid Pedro. That Diogo de Mello was an arrant swashbuckler is evident, not only from what Teixeira tells us, but from contemporary official documents. In *Doc. Rem.*, tom. i, is a royal letter of 28th March 1613,

On Friday, the 13th, we had sight of the Isle of Scarpanto,[1] and next day of the eastern headland of Candia sixty miles from it.[2] This is counted to be four hundred miles from the western point of the isle, whereof we sailed along the southern coast at about twenty miles off shore, with baffling winds, until the 23rd of May, when we cleared it. We saw well the famous Mount Ida, and others no less lofty, all covered with snow.[3] The Isle is about as great as Cyprus, and has many harbours on both shores, but chiefly on the northern.[4] The people are Greeks, subject to the Venetians, who maintain here a strong

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dealing with petitions, etc., from a number of persons, the first mentioned being this very man. We read: "Diogo de Mello de Sampaio, fidalgo of my household, came to this kingdom to ask for satisfaction of his services and commutation of his banishment to the south [*i.e.*, to Malacca], and I thought well to commute it to two years in Ceylon, with a declaration that for the services that he might there perform he should ask for no reward nor satisfaction; wherefore I enjoin on you and charge you positively that in no case whatsoever shall you pardon him the said two years of deportation, which I have commuted for him to Ceylon, and you shall cause that he proceed to serve them on arriving in India, bearing this in mind, so that thus it may be carried out and observed." What Diogo de Mello's offence was, we learn from the *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. 6, where is recorded an "*alvará* [royal decree] of His Majesty's commuting to Diogo de Mello de Sampayo, to two years at the conquest of Ceylon, the four that he had been ordered to serve in the south, by reason of the pardon that was granted to him for the riot and death of Diogo Machado Carneiro." This decree, of which only the last part is extant, is dated Lisbon, 2nd August, 1612. Whether Diogo de Mello had returned to India after his parting from Teixeira, I cannot say; nor do I know his subsequent history.—D. F.

[1] *Carpathus*. The Venetian corruptions of old names, so long prevalent in the Levant, are now slowly giving way to the classic Greek names, which have, indeed, survived on the spot in many cases. But, for English use, the Latin names are most generally convenient, and the use of language is to be understood, "and not to show how clever one is," as the Colonel said on the Examining Board.

[2] Probably some point near Cape *Plaka* of our charts, and not Cape Sidero, which lay off our traveller's southern course. It is clear that he knew little about Crete.

[3] Mt. Theodoro, in Sphakia, 8,100 ft.; Psiloriti (Ida), 8,080 ft.; Apheute Christo (?), 7,100 ft.; and many less lofty (Dietrich Reimer's *Kriegsschauplatz*, Berlin, 1877, which follows the English (Hydrographic Office) work of Spratt and other officers of our Navy).

[4] The southern ports are now insignificant.

garrison, and are ever fortifying the Isle, for fear of such another misfortune as that of Cyprus, which the Turks won of them.

The baffling winds and the current forced us off our course almost to Barbary; whence, with a strong west wind, we shaped our course northwards, to make a landfall. After three days on this course, on Saturday, the 28th, in the morning watch, we made an islet called Strival. It may be five miles about, and is flat and uninhabited, but for a monastery of *caloiros* with some cattle. There is good water, for which both Christian and Turkish galleys frequent it.[1]

Presently, as the light grew, we saw the Isle of Zante, for which we were bound, and continued our voyage thither. We rounded it by the east,[2] and at six in the evening we cast anchor in the port, which is on the northern coast.[3]

This Isle of Zante is sixty miles about, and as it were fenced around with high mountains, amidst which lies a spacious plain, full of vineyards, olive groves, and corn-fields. These last yield only four months' supply, and for the rest of the year the island depends on imported grain. Wherefore the Signory of Venice, who own the Isle, keep there at all times a great store of millet,[4] so that in case of urgent need they can help the people. But as to the vineyards and olive orchards, the produce of so little land

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[1] This is the larger of the Strovathi Isles, the ancient Strophades, familiar to Peninsular and Oriental passengers *viâ* Brindisi. It has now an important lighthouse, and is as good a landfall as could be made on the course indicated. [Dallam (*op. cit.*, p. 26) calls the island "Travallie."—D. F.] The "*caloiros*," of course, are Greek monks; Καλογεροι, Byron's *caloyers*. [See also *supra*, p. 131, *n.* —D. F.] Pietro Della Valle's notice corresponds with Teixeira's (Letter I, from Constantinople, 23rd August, 1614).

[2] By Cape Teraki.

[3] Really north-eastern.

[4] Probably as a cheap grain, which stands keeping. In India I have found the millets the best of famine grains.

seems past belief; for of dried Corinthian grapes,[1] one year with another, they gather from fifteen to twenty thousand *arrobas*. Their wine comes to between sixteen and eighteen thousand pipes, of the best quality, and the olive oil to over five hundred pipes.

On this account the Isle is much frequented by French, English, and other ships.[2] The climate is indifferent, but there is plenty of good fruit and herbs, of flowers, useful or fragrant, and of honey. But wood is scarce, and must be imported, and there is no great plenty of fish.

In and about the city there is plenty of water, but in the rest of the Isle it is scarce; and I was told by credible persons—though I saw it not myself—that in some places they sometimes knead their bread with wine, for want of water.

There are two ports, the better in the north, where is the chief town of the Isle. It may have three thousand houses of cut stone and lime, with tiled roofs, at the foot of a high mountain, whereon is a citadel. This is the residence of the Governor,[3] impregnable by its position and fortification, well armed and garrisoned, and provided with all else needful for its defence.

The natives are Greeks, and there are amongst them in the city thirty or forty houses of Jewish merchants, besides others in the towns and hamlets, whereof the Isle has several. I was invited to one of these, called Gayetan,

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[1] Our grocers' "currants."

[2] See the description of Zante by Thomas Dallam, who visited it in 1599 (*Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, Hakluyt Soc., p. 18, *et seq.*). On the troubles of English merchants over the Zante currant trade, see *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, etc.*, vol. x, *passim*. —D. F.

[3] Maffio Michiel was Governor of Zante at the end of 1604, but was succeeded some time in 1605 by Girolamo (or Giacomo) Corner, or Cornaro. (Regarding Maffio Michiel, the "hanging Governor," see *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, etc.*, vol. x, Preface, pp. lxiv *et seq.*, and letters, *passim*.)—D. F.

to see certain games in honour of a Greek saint's feast. These were attended by most of the folk of the city, only three miles away. As soon as we got into the town, we found in the streets great fires at which were roasted whole from three hundred to four hundred sheep, for the purchase and entertainment of the visitors.

After that, the guests from the city and from other towns joined those of the village in messes, and danced together, to the music of their own voices, having a precentor to whom the rest answered. After that they had jousts,[1] and other very pleasant pastimes.

The other port on the southern coast is called Chery,[2] and lies five miles away from this, by the level way through the valley above mentioned. There is here a town of the same name, and near it a pond, from within which arises constantly and abundantly a black and fine bitumen like tar. Salt also is made in the Isle, enough for its own needs, and some is exported. Those who come here for trade export, besides local produce, silk, wax, hides, saffron, galls, and other goods, imported in great abundance from the Morea. This, the old Peloponnese, lies only ten miles east of the Isle, and on a hill thereof one can see a fine castle, commonly called "Castel Torneze."[3] All this was lately Venetian territory, but now the Turks possess it.

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[1] "*Justas.*" What these were is not clear: perhaps some sort of wrestling. "Jousts" on horseback were not very likely to come off well on a Venetian-Greek island. [The "jousts" were probably similar to the "traverses or sportes" witnessed on May Day, 1599, by Dallam, who says that on that day there met "at the toune of Zante all the able men of the Greeks with their best horsis and artillerie, which is nothing but staves to Rvne at the Ringe, or at quintan" (*op. cit.*, p. 26).—D. F.]

[2] Modern Chieri, or Kieri. The distance from Zante seems to be underrated, but the bitumen springs identify the place. Edward Giffard makes them ten English miles from Zante (*Ionian Isles*, etc., p. 392).

[3] Apparently the ancient "Chelonites," marked on our Admiralty Charts as "Cape Trepito," but by D'Anville and Bartholomew as Cape Tornese." It is just possible that the castle referred to may

The night after our arrival a Turkish galley entered the port, in flight, as they said, from two Christian galleys that had chased her. Next morning there came in seven, belonging to the Signory of Venice, and three more joined them later on. Upon the Turkish galley's entrance, inquest was speedily made as to the rights and wrongs of her case; and after much debate they let her go free, on condition of instant departure, finding that she had aboard the King of Argel,[1] bound for Constantinople on a summons from the Grand Turk. But most men thought this was but a pretence.

By the terms existing between them, no Turkish galleys may enter the ports or waters of the Signory without their express permission; and, if found therein, these are fair prize, and their companies, if they resist, subject to military execution, provided that it be done within twenty-four hours of capture. After that term they may neither be slain nor held captive, but must be set free; and he who should trangress these rules would be subject to severe punishment.

Upon our coming into port we stayed aboard for the night, and all went ashore in the morning. Though we had clean bills of health great difficulties were made about granting pratique, wherein the Signory are most vigilant. As a great favour, and on special interest made, we were detained in a warehouse whilst the health officers took counsel how to deal with us.

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be that of Chiarenza or Clarenza, on the next headland northwards, to which a legend quoted by Giffard attributes the origin of our English title "Duke of Clarence."

[1] The potentate best known in English as "the Dey of Algiers." [On November 25th, 1604, the Governor of Zante wrote to the Doge and Senate that on the 18th had arrived an English ship, having on board Ismail, a son of the late King of Morocco, accompanied by the Viceroy of Algiers, who held a commission from the Sultan to place Ismail on the throne.—D. F.]

The Governor, the *proveedor*[1] of the squadron, and other distinguished friends of our comrade, Piero dal Ponte, did all they could for us. Yet we could get no release until three o'clock of the afternoon; so strictly is the business managed amongst those nations. During this delay and confinement, I wondered at the abundance of presents and refreshments sent to Piero dal Ponte. We were about forty in number; yet we never stopped eating and drinking of the same all day; to say nothing of plenty that was given to our guards, though these were not paid at our cost, as is the practice here.[2]

On our release, Piero dal Ponte carried Domenico Calegary and myself to visit the *proveditor*[3] of the squadron, and there to the citadel to the Governor, both of whom used him with much honour and favour. The rest of our time we spent in seeing whatever was worth it, while our ship took in cargo. Her arrival was inconvenient enough to some others already loading in the port. For it is the law, in all ports of the Signory, that no other ship may take in cargo while a Venetian bottom is available.

There is in this port a fishery which I noted as remarkable. In July and August there come to this and other

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[1] I have here used the original word, because, though my dictionaries, both Italian and Spanish, translate "purveyor," etc., I take the *proveditore* to have been an officer of rank, like an admiral, superintendent, or perhaps a port admiral. [See Dallam's narrative, p. 18, from which it appears that the Governor was also the *proveditore*. —D. F.] The words translated "distinguished friends' are "*personages amigos*."

[2] "*Acá*"; whether Antwerp or Spain is doubtful, but probably Teixeira meant Spain. The quarantine arrangements of Zante were a marvel of rigour until 1837 (Giffard, *op. cit.*, chap. xvii). [It was only after six days that Thomas Dallam and his companions, on their first visit to Zante, "had proticke, which is, Leve to com a shore;" while, on their return thither, they only got out of the lazaretto after ten days' confinement (*op. cit.*, pp. 19, 89).—D. F.]

[3] *Sic in orig.*, varying from the Spanish "*proveedor*" of the last reference to this officer.

isles, from the archipelago, great shoals of *savalos*.[1] Of these the fishermen picket a living female to a stake or cane, set in the harbour bottom with good scope of horse-hair line. The male fish, seeing the decoy, resort to her at once, and the men strike them without intermission. Yet the heat of desire will allow no warning way into their silly brains; and so, with many such decoys, the men take innumerable fish. They salt the flesh and roe, which last are called *butargas*, and much esteemed in all those regions.

I saw in this Isle great use of negro slaves, some of whom were brought direct from Africa; but most by the English, who had got them in past years by plundering the Portuguese ships from Guynéa and Angola.

Twelve land miles[2] north-west of this port is the Isle of Safalonya, also Venetian territory; and at twenty miles to the northward are clearly seen some islets called Scorsolary, where was the sea-fight between the Turk and the League, wherein the Señor Don John of Austria was captain-general.[3]

To conclude, the women of this Isle are mostly good-looking, and ride in men's fashion when they go into the

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[1] *Savalos* are shad, and this word (originally Barbaresque Arabic) has become "chee-chee" English in Madras, where a shad is called "sable-fish." Two species, *Clupea alosa* and *C. finta*, occur in the Gulf of Venice. As these are never "ripe" for spawning in salt water, the sexual passion described is very improbable. But mere sociability or curiosity will constantly lead free fishes to the side of a captive. It has to be noted that Teixeira does not here speak as an eye-witness.

[2] "*Millas de tierra.*" It is impossible to know what *is* Teixeira's "*milla.*" But in this case he guards himself from being supposed to use the Italian or navigator's mile of sixty to the degree on the Equator, which we call a "knot," or "geographical mile." The latter term is objectionable, as *all* miles must be "geographical"; and it is actually used in German to mean a German mile of 15 to the degree, which has been in some cases literally translated into English. The distance from the port of Zante to the south point of Cephalonia is about 10 "knots."

[3] The fight of Lepanto, of course.

country. Both men and and women live, and sing, and dance very much like our Portuguese of the province 'twixt Duero and Minho.

CHAPTER XV.

How we sailed from Zante and came to Venice.

WE stayed here eight days for want of a wind, which we would not lose when we got it, sailing at noon on Sunday, the 5th of June. But it headed us in the evening, and as we could not clear the sound betwixt Zante and Safalonya, we must needs put back into port. It is worth consideration that, from Harmuz to this place, I never left port without being forced so to put back, and could make no fair start. The wind that drove us back brought into port a ship of Venice from Naples, bringing, amongst other news, that of the birth of our Lord the Prince of Spain, and of the creation of the Holy Father, Pope Paul the Fifth, of which we were all glad.[1] The same day we had word that the corsair Murat Arrays[2] was in the Gulf of Venice with seven galleys.

On Tuesday, the 8th of June, the wind began to favour us, and we sailed again with two other ships. One of these was a Venetian, homeward bound from Cypro, and the other a little English ship, also bound for Venice. I thought that as she was lighter and swifter, she might make a better voyage, and committed to a friend of mine, of Zante, who took passage aboard her, a packet of papers for Venice. But it is ill to count on what may chance at

[1] Philip IV, born [8th April] 1605 ; and Paul V (Camillo Borghese), elected 16th May of that year, *vice* Leo XI. It is difficult to acquit our author of malice in associating these events so closely with the cruise of "Murat Arrays."

[2] Murád Reïs (see *supra*, p. 16).—D. F.

sea ; and this ship, after suffering much trouble, and being forced into Corfu to water, got into Venice twenty days later than we did.

We ourselves, sailing with that favouring wind, made but twelve miles through the Sound, and could not get out of it with our best endeavour. For the wind headed us, and drove us back. Without returning into port, we rounded the Isle southwards, and after three days' beating against head winds, on Thursday, the 16th of the month, we saw Corfú far in the north. Next morning we found ourselves within fifteen miles of Cape Santa Maria,[1] and presently were up with that of Otranto, lands of Apulia in Italy, at the entrance of the Gulf of Venice. When we had got twelve miles within it, the favouring wind shifted against us, and for some days we had trouble enough, beating up from between shore and shore, and measuring, more often than we would, the width of the strait, which may be seventy miles.

It pleased God that the contrary wind died away ; and, with some puffs of a better, we followed our course along the coast of Valóna, the old Macedonia. We passed Cataro, a fortress thereon of the Signory of Venice, not far from which stands Castel Nuevo, and presently follows Raguzea, a republic that exists by paying tribute both to the Turk and to the Venetians, who appoint its governor once a month.

We sailed by many isles and islets that lie there along the coast of Esclavonia, called by the ancients Dalmacia. On the 30th of June we sent our boat ashore for water at one of these isles, called Lecena.[2] Next day she returned

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[1] Santa Maria di Leuca of our charts. It is to be noted that Teixeira makes the Gulf of Venice begin here, so that his old bugbear, "Murat Arrays," was now for the second time embittering the end of his voyage.

[2] Probably Lesina, possibly Lussin.

with it, and with plenty of bread, fruit, and vegetables. At that time there were in the island a *chaús* and a *saniaco*[1] of the Turk, sent in his name and by his command to hand over to the Signory of Venice certain lands in Dalmacia, which he was pleased to bestow upon them.

Still beating up against the wind, which had headed us again, we sighted the mountains of Ancona ; and on Saturday, the 9th of July, at four in the afternoon, we came to Istria.[2] When we were near the shore, Piero dal Ponte and the rest of the passengers went ashore in the boat, to take passages in small craft to Venice. For the great ships must go about to get to Malamocco, which is their harbour in Venice ; but the small craft have a shorter course from this place. So it is the custom, when the ships come to Istria, to leave them and make the passage of a hundred miles to Venice in these barks, and so did we. Our comrades brought off a bark, and we went aboard her on Sunday, the 10th, and started in high spirits. But that night came down upon us so frequent and fierce north-easterly squalls[3] of wind and rain, that no man there hoped to get off with his life.

After a whole night spent in suffering and fear, and

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[1] *Sanják* = a banner, and hence an officer entitled to colours, and his charge, so that the word has come to mean a district, and here means the officer in charge of one. *Chawúsh* and *kawás* are now well-known words in Europe, and would need little remark here, were it not that it is not quite clear which is represented by Teixeira's "*chaús*." Probably it is the former. Our author's contemporary, Ben Jonson, records (in *The Alchemist*) how one of these gentlemen introduced a new word for *cheating* into the English language. The *Chawúsh*, moreover, is the other's superior in rank and roguery—less of an orderly and more of a bailiff—yet not of such rank that his mission to the Signory was any better than one of the covert insults dear to the Asian diplomatist.

[2] It is not clear what port is meant, but I am inclined to think that it must have been Pola, or some other place near the point of the Istrian peninsula, and not Capo d' Istria, near its base. [Or possibly it was at Cittanuova, in Porto Quieto, that Teixeira's ship anchored.—D. F.]

[3] "*Borrascas.*"

ceaseless tempest, it pleased God that the weather mended a little. And on Monday, the 11th, at eight in the morning, we got to Venice. By eleven o'clock, having passed the health office, we made every man for his own quarters, praising God, who had brought us so far in peace and in health, to whom be gratitude and glory for ever and ever. Amen!

I rested a while in Venice, and saw somewhat of the many wonders of that city, of which a wise man has wisely said, that it is an impossible work in an impossible place. Then I visited no small part of Italy, and came to Piedmont, whence I crossed the Alps, and saw Savoy; crossed France, and came to these States.[1] I settled at last in this city of Antwerp, whence I offer to thee, O Reader! this short story of my journey, which might have been longer had I not been careful to abridge it.

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[1] The Spanish Netherlands.

END OF THE VOYAGE.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

A Short Narrative of the Origin of the Kingdom of Harmuz, and of its Kings, down to its Conquest by the Portuguese; extracted from its History, written by Torunxa,[1] *King of the same.*

TORUNXA, King of Harmuz, was pleased to deal, in Persian prose and verse, with the foundation of that kingdom, and the doings of the kings, his predecessors. He called his book the *Xa noma*, that is, "the History of the King, or Kings"; and started with Adam. But I will abridge, upon a few pages, what he wrote in no small volume, and relate, with my wonted brevity, the origin of the kingdom, the number of its kings, their succession in due order, and as much more touching the same, as may be of most use, and may not be omitted.

Torunxa gives two very different accounts of the foundation of that realm of Harmuz, and of the rise of its first king. And he leaves every reader free to choose that which best may square with his humour.[2]

He says,[3] then, that there was an Arab prince called Mahamed

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[1] Teixeira has several forms of this name. Sir Henry Yule, in the notes and index of his *Marco Polo*, spells it "Thuran Shah," and he is good company to go astray in, if stray we must. [In his article "Ormus" in the *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., however, Yule spells the name "Túrán Sháh."—D. F.] But our charts have "Turumbagh" for Teixeira's "Torunpaque," on the site of the old royal gardens mentioned by Teixeira, and Mr. Gray calls a later prince of this family, who came to a bad end in Goa, "Turun Sháh" (*vide* his Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 243, *et seq.*).

[2] "*Lo que mas le quadrare.*"

[3] Cf. what follows with the commencement of the Dominican friar's version given in Appendix D, *infra*, which is here much fuller in detail. In Nieuhof's Travels (*Churchill's Collection*, vol. ii, p. 236,

Dram Ku, descended by old and direct succession from the kings of Sabáh, which is a province of Arabia, whereof she was queen who came to see Solomon. This prince, wishing to increase his realm (as is the usual desire of rulers), marched out of his own territory, and overran and possessed those of his neighbours; not ceasing until he came to the shore of the Persian Gulf, which is that narrow sea which we now call in Portuguese the Strait of Harmuz.[1]

Having got so far, he persuaded his folk to follow him across the sea, with the promise of good luck on the Persian shore, where he was minded to found a *bandel*, that is, a port, which should have more fame and trade than Soár.[2] This is a port of Arabia on the same strait, then much frequented; and though it be now brought to little by wear of Time, yet still do the site and ruins, as I saw them,[3] bear witness that it was once an important city.

After counsel taken, he and all his people went to Kalayat,[4] a port of Arabia in the Persian Gulf, near the Cape of Rocolgat. Thence he embarked, with all his followers, and what they required, and made his passage to Iasques,[5] a well-known port on

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et seq.) is given a slightly abridged version of Túrán Sháh's history, copied (though not acknowledged) from Teixeira. Sir Thos. Herbert (*Travels*, 4th ed., 1677, p. 108) gives a very brief summary of the history of Hormuz, also apparently taken from Teixeira. Valentyn also (*Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, deel v, p. 231) gives a very incorrectly-spelt list of the Kings of Hormuz.—D. F.

[1] The particular waters meant are not the Persian Gulf in general, but its narrow entrance, at and eastward of Hormuz, forming what we now call the "Sea of Omán." [It is more probable that the Gulf of Omán is meant; for, according to the Dominican friar's version, Muhammad and his company marched to Kalhát, whence they took ship to the coast of Persia. This is also stated below in Teixeira's account; so that the exact meaning of the above passage is somewhat doubtful.—D. F.]

[2] Sohár. It has now 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants (*Persian Gulf Pilot*). [See description in *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. i, pp. 91-92. Cf. also *Imâms of 'Omân*, p. iii, *n.*—D. F.]

[3] "*Y tal me parescio à my.*" [In 1587, doubtless, after leaving Máskat for Hormuz (see Introduction).—D. F.]

[4] Kalhát, a little north-west of Rás-al-Had, the eastern point of Arabia. It is now only "a little village," with reported "anchorage for small craft quite close in" (*Persian Gulf Pilot*). Its place has been taken by Súr. But this part of the coast of Omán, with a good position, plenty of water, and a bold and enterprising people, has always been more important than it looks on a map. [See description of Kalhát in *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. i, p. 66. See also *Imâms of 'Omân*, p. 37, *n.*; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 449.—D. F.]

[5] Jashk of the *Persian Gulf Pilot*. [See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Jask, Jasques, Cape."—D. F.]

the Persian coast. Thence coasting northwards, he entered Kostek,[1] another port of the same shore. Now, Xa Mahamed had left in Kàlayat a son of his, with a wise wazir, that, if he should have ill success over sea, he might here have safe harbour and passage.

When he had come to Kostek, he disembarked his men, and sought a convenient place for his settlement. Hearing that further on there lay a place called Harmuz,[2] very fit for his enterprise, he went thither with his force. On examination he approved of the site, and established himself there; laid out and founded a city,[3] allotted the land, which was ill-peopled, at his discretion, and struck money, whence he had the surname of Dramku.[4]

He had with him a son of his, named Soleyman, by whose endeavours the city grew and prospered notably. And Xa Mahamed dwelt and ruled there, in peace and with justice, and by reason of his high character, wisdom, and valour, was held in close alliance by his neighbours, the governors of Xyraz and Kermon. He died some years after the foundation of Harmuz,[5] and left it, greatly increased, to his son Soleyman.

Turonxá's alternative story of the rise of this kingdom of Harmuz is as follows. The father of Xa Mahamed was a king in Arabia, who, warring on another, was beaten in battle and fled; and because he held himself in peril in Arabia, he passed over

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[1] Kohistug and Kuhistak of modern maps. [Barbosa (p. 36) calls it "Goxtaque." See also *infra*, Appendix D.—D. F.]

[2] The site of Old Hormuz has been for some time assigned to Khor Minaw (=Minaw Creek), on the authority of Sir Lewis Pelly, accepted by Sir Henry Yule. The port was later on represented by "Gombroon," as that is now by Bandar Abbas, standing almost on its ruins (vide *Persian Gulf Pilot*, *s. v.*, and Yule's *Marco Polo*). [See also Yule's article on "Ormus," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Ormus;" and J. R. Preece's "Journey from Shiraz to Jashk," in *Royal Geographical Society's Supplementary Papers*, vol. i, pp. 423, 425.—D. F.]

[3] Adam Olearius, in one of his annotations to chap. ix. of Mandelslo's *Travels* (see p. 13 of Bk. III. of English trans.), misquotes Teixeira as saying that Mahmud founded the city of Hormuz on the *island* afterwards called by that name.—D. F.

[4] The possession of a mint and special coinage being a royal privilege throughout the East, this was an assertion of independent sovereignty. The etymology given is correct. [See *infra*, Appendix D.—D. F.]

[5] No dates are given in connection with the first eleven rulers of Hormuz; but assuming as correct the date (1278) given for the death of the twelfth, and allowing to each of his predecessors an average reign of thirteen years, the foundation of the kingdom of Hormuz would fall in A.D. 1100. Yule (*ubi supra*) places the founding somewhat earlier; and Valentyn (*ubi supra*), on what authority I know not, gives A.D. 700 as the date of the founder Muhammad.—D. F.

the Persian Gulf, landed in Mogostam,[1] a part of Persia, and settled there with Mahamed, his son, who had come with him. Now the ruler of that land was a tyrannous lord in all his doings. . . . . .[2]

Xá Mahamed Dramkú, first king of Harmuz, was succeeded on his death by Soleymon, his son. He was kindly, and beloved of all for his virtue and justice; whereby his fame and state were much increased. He died after a long and peaceful reign.[3]

Içá, son of Soleymon, the third king, succeeded on his father's death. He was a good prince, and in his time his folk had peace and prosperity. He encouraged them to till the fields, and plant palm orchards, with bounty and favour. In gratitude whereof they did often risk life and goods in his service; so that he much increased his dominion, and, dying there, left his son in possession.

Laxkary, son of Içá, succeeded his father as fourth king. He was good and just, a protector of the poor, and so much beloved of his people. He had, amongst others, a son named Kaykobad, to whom, for his princely qualities, he handed over the kingdom and retired into seclusion, wherein he died some years later.

Kaykobad, son of Laxkary, the fifth king, fell not away from the virtue of his fathers. He did justice, protected the poor, and repressed the pride of the nobles.

On Kaykobad's death, succeeded Içá his son, second of that name, and sixth of the dynasty. This king was warlike, and undertook several wars which he brought to good end. The kingdom of Harmuz throve greatly in his day.

Mamud, son of Içá, inherited the state on his father's death. He was a good prince, and had many children. Now the kings of Harmuz, for peace and safety's sake, were wont to keep all of their blood royal, who might pretend to the throne, in separate places and fortresses, and there they dwelt, unless upon other command of the king. And so this Mamud held his nephew, Mir Xabadin Molongh, in the fortress of Gat, which is in Persia, in the lands of Brahemy and Mogostam, with many others, which the kings of Harmuz yet hold in Persia, subject to the Portuguese.[4]

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[1] Mogistan, the district of Persia east of the Strait of Hormuz.

[2] Here follows the widespread folk-tale of the "Mercheta mulierum." The prince disguises himself as a bride, and stabs the vicious tyrant. The people, of course, make him king. With the foregoing very probable narrative before us, it is unnecessary to consider the choice so naïvely offered by Thuran Shah and Teixeira.

[3] Here, and from this onward, I take the liberty of curtailing the mention of each succession, which Teixeira always gives doubly: at the end of each king's reign, and at the start of his successor's.

[4] "Brahemy" may be represented by Bandar Ibrahim of some maps, Khor Minaw of our charts and *Pilot*, on the Persian mainland east of

Now Mamud had warning that his nephew plotted his death, and gave orders to confine him, meaning to slay him if that treason should be proven. But Mir Xabadin Molongh, getting word of this, fled to the fort of Seugon. The captain there used and served him well, and gave him to wife a daughter of his own, who bore him a son called Nocerat Requebdar, and a daughter called Setalkatun (daughter of) Xabadin. Meanwhile, Mamud died in Harmuz.

On Mamud's death, his son Xáxanxá succeeded him, and kept up the pursuit of Molongh, but could not lay hold on him with all his efforts. In this way passed several years, and then great hosts out of the land of Hyr[1] invaded Harmuz and its territories, and Xáxanxá marched out to fight them, albeit much outnumbered. Mirxabadin Molongh, hearing of his kinsman's[2] peril, thought the time fit to make his peace. So he took leave of his father-in-law, gathered what force he could, and marched to reinforce the king, to whom he submitted, and followed him with his men. But Xáxanxá, with many tokens of his affection, called him up to his own side. So they joined battle with the enemy, wherein Xáxanxá was slain, and Xabadin Molongh presently hailed king in his place.

This king prosecuted the war against the men of Hyr, and in the end he beat them outright, and returned to Harmuz, where he ruled with great success. He gave his daughter, Set Alkatun Xabadin, in marriage to Amir Seyfadin Aben Azar, son of Aly his brother,[3] king of the Isle of Keys.[4] Shortly after this marriage Aly died, and the men of Keys, at Abadin's instance, took Seyfadin for king, who went thither with his wife. But not long

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Hormuz. If so, its lands would be those about Minaw. [Barbosa (*op. cit.*, p. 36) has "Ebrahemi."—D. F.] "Gat" is perhaps "Gatan" or "Gez," and "Seugon" (*infra*) may be taken to be "Sekui," all on the Royal Geographical Society's Map, a little to the north of Rás-al-Kúh.

[1] I do not know what "Hyr" represents. The "great hosts" were doubtless Mongol hordes.—D. F.

[2] "*Tio*"=usually "uncle." But as that relationship is impossible upon any construction of the foregoing text, I have preferred the vaguer term.

[3] "*Hermano*"=brother, viz., of the king of Harmuz. One cannot be sure of the exact relationship, but this construction is rendered likely by the Musalman custom of giving a girl to her father's brother's son, if possible and convenient.

[4] "Keys" is marked "Kenn" on some modern maps, and lies within the Persian Gulf, about three degrees west of Hormuz Island, and half a degree south of its latitude. We shall hear a good deal more of it presently. It is the "Kais" of our charts and *The Persian Gulf Pilot*.

afterwards Mir Xabadin Molongh, king of Harmuz, died, and a certain Rex[1] Xarear, his wazir, assumed the kingdom.

When the men of Keys heard of Molongh's death and Xarear's doings, they dethroned Amir Seyfadin; and he, fearing for his life, fled from that isle to Harmuz, where all men made him welcome. The usurper Xarear was then in the fortress of Kaream,[2] whither Seyfadin marched. Xarear, who held it with ten of his kinsmen, took arms, and bade every man shift for himself, or sell his life dear. But he and they were all slain, and Amir Seyfadin remained in possession of the kingdom.

The first thing that the new king Seyfadin did, was to give three daughters of Rex Xarear to three chief men of his court in marriage. Then, not forgetting how the men of Keys had used him, he made war upon them, invaded their isle, beat them with great slaughter, and carried away captive some of their chiefs. He anchored at the Isle of Gerun, which now we call Harmuz,[3] then a desert, where he slew his prisoners on a hill, called thence Kuy Kostaron, that is "Dead Men's Hill," and so it is called to-day.[4] Thence he went to Harmuz, and spent the rest of his life in peace, and Xabadin Mamud, his nephew, succeeded him.

Xabadin Mamud, son of Içà, second of his name, and eleventh king, had peace in his realm during his lifetime.

On his death[5] succeeded his nephew,[6] Amir Roknadin Mahmud, son of Hamed, in whose time Harmuz throve greatly. He kept many and good soldiers, with whom he won some great victories,

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[1] For "Rais," a captain or commander, in civil life a ruler, or one who takes precedence amongst men of practically equal rank, as in the abolished "Raisships" of Sind, mere matter of seniority amongst the Amirs. This title has now come down in the world.

[2] Possibly represented by Khamir, half-way through Clarence Strait, on the Persian shore. It has a big fort, a little port, and a trade in brimstone and millstones. [Or perhaps Karian, south-east of Minab (Old Hormuz) is the place meant.—D. F.]

[3] This, it will be observed, is the first mention of the Insular Hormuz in the story.

[4] "Kuy" certainly represents the Persian *Koh-i*="Hill of"—"Kostaron" I cannot clearly identify, as no doubt any good Persian scholar could. The likeliest word seems to be *khasrán*="perishing." [More probably Pers. *kushtárán*=slaughtered ones. Nieuhof (*op. cit.*, p. 232) says that on the top of this hill the Portuguese built a chapel called "Our Lady of the Rock." This is entered in the plan in Astley's Collection as "N. S. de la Pena." The hill is shown in Capt. Stiffe's view of Hormuz, and the ruins of the chapel are marked in his plan (see note p. 164, *infra*).—D. F.]

[5] In A.D. 1243, if the length of the reign and the date of the death of his successor, as given below, be correct.—D. F.

[6] "*Sobrino*," possibly a nephew of his predecessor, so I have translated literally.

and new dominions as far as Zafár. He reigned thirty-five years, and died in the year of the Hyxara 676, that is, A.D. 1278.[1]

Amir Seyfadin Nocerat, son of Roknadin Mamud, and thirteenth of his line, inherited the kingdom from his father. But his succession was opposed by two of his brothers, Amir Kodbadin Thahantan and Amir Moehzadin Fulad, or Pulad. Most of the soldiers favoured Nocerat, yet could he not prevail over his brothers, who forced him and his mother, Bibi Banek, to fly the kingdom.

Bibi Banek went to Kermon, then governed by a Sulton Gelaladin Suraget Mex. He received her with much honour, and supplied troops, by whose aid Seyfadin Nocerat was reinstated in his kingdom. His brothers ceased not yet from disturbing him; but he got Amir Moehzadin Fulad into his hands, and put him to death.

But the other, Mir Kodbadin Tahamtan,[2] with a certain Malek Seyfadin Abubakra Hhaony, marched on Harmuz, and fought with Noceret in Denú, and beat him. He fled to Komzara, and thence in a *tarranquy*,[3] or light bark, to Lapht, a seaport in the Isle of Broct, which isle we Portuguese call commonly Queixome.[4] After his flight, the two allies agreed so ill, that Malek Seyfadin slew Kodbadin, and the citizens and soldiers in disgust recalled and reinstated Amir Seyfadin Nocerat, and cast Malek forth of the kingdom. After Nocerat's restoration, two more of his brothers, Amir Masaud and Amir Turkonxa, slew him by treason, with his sisters, Bibi Banek[5] and Bibi Neyty. He had reigned twelve years, and died in A.H. 689, A.D. 1291.

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[1] This the first date in the *Kings of Hormuz*, and we are getting near the time of Marco Polo's visit or visits. Unfortunately, it cannot be certainly known to what period, or to what king, his remarks refer. (*Vide* Yule's *Marco Polo*, *sub vv.* "Ormuz," and "Thuran Shah.") I cannot identify "Zafár." It may be Dhofar, now the south-west boundary of Máskat, on the coast. [Ibn Batúta calls Dhofar "Zafár."—D. F.]

[2] As is mentioned in a footnote further on, the ruler of Hormuz, at the time of Ibn Batúta's visit, is called by that traveller "Kuṭbuddín Tahamtan," the latter appellation meaning "powerful" or "intrepid." —D. F.

[3] See *infra*. Couto (*Dec. VI, passim*) spells the word *tarranquim* and *terranquim*. I cannot trace the origin of the name.—D. F.

[4] I cannot identify "Denú"; the most tempting names on the maps are probably mere misspellings. But "Komzara," a rather recognisable name, is still that of a port, "Kumzár," near Rás Musandám, whose "inhabitants are fishermen, and possess fifty or sixty boats of different sizes. They take salt-fish, shark-fins, etc., to Kishm, *with which place they have much intercourse*." Now Laft, although it is not Kishm, is on the Isle of Kishm, and was easily accessible from Kumzár (vide *Persian Gulf Pilot*, *s. v.*). ["Denú" is probably Deh Na of the Indian Survey Map of Persia, on the mainland, nearly due north of Hormuz Island; and "Komzara" is, I think, Khamir (referred to in the note on p. 158), which is just opposite to Lapht.—D. F.]

[5] Bibi Banek, a little above, was his *mother*. She may have had a

Masaud, having slain his brother, possessed himself of the realm.[1] He was warlike and bold, but so cruel and ill-conditioned that he presently found himself abhorred of all men, in fear of whose hatred he slew many, both gentle and simple; and the most and the best betook themselves to Amir Bahadin Ayaz Seyfin. This man had been a slave of the late King Nocerat, who had such trust in him as to make him wazir of Kalayat, the Arabian port mentioned above. He now, feeling for the troubles and miseries of Harmuz, raised a force, with which he passed the Persian Gulf, attacked Amir Masaud, and beat him in fight. Masaud fled to Kermon, and thence to Syrion,[2] where he died many years afterwards, having reigned but three.

Mir Bahadin Ayaz Seyfin, the former slave of Mir Seyfadin Nocerat, having beaten Masaud, possessed the kingdom, and proceeded to reduce it to order, but not without further opposition. For two brothers of the exiled Masaud, Mir Turkon Xá and Mir Saliuk, corresponded with him, plotting his restoration. Ayaz heard of this, seized and beheaded them, after which he had a little more peace.[3] But in the year 700 of the Moors, which fell in 1302 A.D., there came out of Turkestam great hordes of Turks,

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daughter or step-daughter of her name, but it is quite as likely that there is some mistake, and that the *mother* is the lady meant here. "Masaud," in modern scientific transliteration, is Masáūd, a trisyllable.

[1] Yule thinks that it was on his return journey (probably in 1492) that Marco Polo visited Hormuz; and that therefore by "Ruomedan Ahomet," the name he gives to the then reigning sovereign, is meant Masaud, and not Ruknuddín Mahmúd, as might be easily inferred. It is quite possible that Masaud had several names in addition to the single one that Teixeira records, and that it was by these that he was known to Marco Polo.—D. F.

[2] This stands for Sirján, an alternative name of Kermán, the capital of the province (see Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 92); *Royal As. Soc. Journ.*, N. S., vol. xiii, p. 492).

[3] Hammer-Purgstall (*Geschichte der Ilchane*, bd. ii, p. 50) says, on the authority of Abdul Wassáf:—"Hormus was, under the rule of the Salghur Atabegs of Fars, a governorship of the latter's; after the fall of this famous dynasty Mahmud Kalhati, the governor of Hormus, took possession of the island for himself. His son Nussret put to death his brother Rokneddin Mesud, and the latter's wife. Melik Behaeddin Ajas, one of her Mameluks, raised an army to avenge the death of his mistress. He was assisted by Dschelaleddin Sijurghutmisch, the ruler of Kerman; but Behaeddin fled to the island of Kisch, where the mufti Dschemaleddin of Fars received him with open arms, and granted him from the Crown revenues twelve thousand pieces of gold yearly for the maintenance of the army. After he had defeated Mesud, he proceeded to the islands of Larek and Dscherun, and levied more than two hundred tománs in gold and silver and rich stuffs, went to Hormus, and caused state prayers to be offered in the name of Fachreddin Ahmed ben Ibrahim Et-thaibi. The mufti

and conquered many lands in Persia.[1] They attacked the kingdom of Kermon, and next that of Harmuz, and wasted it all; and well if the mischief had stopped at that. For the wealth that they had found in those lands induced them to return so often, that the Harmuzis, unable to withstand such troubles, made up their minds to abandon their lands, and so they did.[2]

The Isle of Queixome, or Broct, lies along the Persian coast, parted from it by a narrow sound. It is five-and-twenty leagues long, and from two to three wide.[3] Ayaz ordered the Harmuzis to cross into this isle, and they obeyed him willingly; bringing with them all that remained to them, saved from the force and

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Dschemaleddin of Schiras, who has already been referred to above as the farmer-general of Fars, betook himself to Hormus, where dissensions arose between him and Fachreddin, the lord of the island, which had to be decided by arms. Behaeddin Ajas proved himself not ungrateful towards his former benefactor, and after the latter had been defeated in an engagement with Fachreddin, Behaeddin facilitated his flight from the island. In the following year [the date "15 July 1296" is given in the margin], when Dschemaleddin acquired the farm-general of Fars and all the coasts and islands appertaining thereto, he went at the head of an army to Hormus, with the mandate that Bahaeddin should vacate the island. Rukneddin Mesud had won to his interest the King of Islam, *i.e.*, the mufti farmer-general, and he supported this demand with an army. Behaeddin Ajas pursued the warships of the King of Islam, which had approached the island, with his, defeated them, landed on the island of Kis or Kisch, and sacked it; the King of Islam (Dschemaleddin) was uneasy over the consequences of his loss by land and sea, especially because the time of the monsoon was at hand, in which the ships from the Indian coast, which is called *Maaber*, *i.e.*, the West, should arrive. He therefore sent to Behaeddin Ajas, and by his means concluded a treaty with Fachreddin et-Thaibi." Yule, who justly terms the above account "frightfully confused," has attempted to explain some of the statements therein, and I would refer the reader to his note on the subject (*Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 125; see also vol. ii, p. 316 *n*).—D. F.

[1] These invaders were certainly subjects of the Mongol "Ilkhan" dynasty, of which Ghazán Khán and, after him, his brother Uljaitu (sons of Arghun, son of Abaka, son of Haláku, son of Tuli, son of Chinghiz) were the heads at that time. Thuran Shah and Teixeira are probably right in calling them "Turks." For, though the dynasty was Mongol, most of the tribes attached to it were Turkish. It is not unnatural that they should have been some time about working their way down to the hot south coast. But we cannot assume Thuran Shah's dates to be very precise. It will be evident, as we go on, that the Mongol raids should be spread over several years *previous* to A.H. 700, A.D. 1302, and that *that* was the date of the settlement of "Harmuz," consequent on the raids (*vide* Yule's *Marco Polo*, *s. v.* "Ormuz"). [In his *Kings of Persia* Teixeira says nothing of any Turkish invasion in A.D. 1302.—D. F.]

[2] It will be seen that the abandonment was not total.

[3] See p. 19, *supra*.—D. F.

fury of the Turks.[1] When they had got shelter in the island, after some days' rest therein, Ayáz set forth, in search of an isle, amongst several thereabout, wherein he and his folk might settle. He came to one that was desert, two leagues from that of Queixome; on a point whereof dwelt an old man called Gerun,[2] with his wife, who lived by fishing, and sold his catch to the ships bound from India to Queis, or from Keys[3] to India, receiving in exchange rice, cloth, and other food and apparel.

This Gerun, hearing from Ayáz to what end he sought the isle, gave him counsel to come thither, for that he would find none so fit for his purpose. Ayáz surveyed it, and, being content therewith, proceeded to ask for it from the king of Keys, who owned it, and all the other isles in the Persian Gulf. Keys, so called of the Arabs and Persians, but by the Portuguese Quays,[4] is a little isle in the midst of the Strait of Basorà.[5] It is well watered and wooded, and was of old the chief place of a kingdom; but now desolate since the loss of its trade, for fear of the Noutaqui and Nichelú robbers, two breeds of pirates that ever infest that sea.[6] It had once that sea-borne trade that Harmuz now has, but all that is lost in the wars, and scarce can it keep its own name.

Neyn, who was then king of Keys,[7] ruled also over Gerun, to which, during Ayàz's visit, there had put in a Muláh, or man of religion, called Xeque Ismaél, a native of a village near Lara,[8] a

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[1] Barros (*Dec. II*, Liv. II, cap. ii) and Couto (*Dec. V*, Liv. X, cap. i) both ascribe the founding of the kingdom of Hormuz in the island of Jarún to "Gordunxá" or "Groduxá," and date the migration of the Hormuzis from the mainland in A.D. 1273 and *circa* 1250 respectively. The Dominican, whose version of Ṭúrán Sháh is given in Appendix D, below, attributes the transference to "Cabadim." The author of the *Comment. of Af. Dalb.* says that he could not learn the history of the foundation of Hormuz (vol. iv, p. 185).—D. F.

[2] Barros (*u. s.*) also speaks of this old man "Gerun": but the Dominican, it will be seen, says that the island was called "Jarún," on account of its desert condition.—D. F.

[3] These two names undoubtedly refer to the same island, and I have transcribed them and translated the passage literally, to show our author's methods of spelling.

[4] A third spelling, within one paragraph of the *editio princeps*.

[5] That is, the inner or proper Gulf west of Hormuz. Kais is far from the middle, near the Persian coast, to which it belongs, and is now a prosperous little island enough, though by no means metropolitan. The reader will have noted above that the dynasties of Kais and of the continental Hormuz were closely related.

[6] Regarding whom, see *supra*, pp. 20, 21.—D. F.

[7] We shall, once or twice, find again this name of "Neym" in connection with "Keys." And it is worth while to remember that the "Banu Naïm" are still a great clan on the Persian Gulf.

[8] For the name of this "village near Lara" see next note. From the authorities there quoted it would appear that the Shaikh's name was Dániál, and not Ismail, as here given.—D. F.

city of Persia. This man was wont to come annually at a certain season, on tour amongst those isles, to beg alms for himself, and for the poor of his town. Ayáz, having conversed with him and found him capable, thought fit to employ him to obtain that island from the king of Keys, whether by gift or by sale, so that himself and his folk might go thither. He promised the Mulah a good fee for his trouble, and the latter managed so well that he obtained the isle; and though it was offered as a free gift, yet he would not take it but on fair purchase for cash. In memory of this service, it remained the custom of the kings of Harmuz to pay yearly to the descendants of that Mulah a certain fee, for which I have myself seen them come more than once.[1]

Ayàz, having obtained possession of the Isle of Gerun, proceeded to settle there with his people, and gave it the unforgotten name of his own land, that is Harmuz.[2] But the Persians and Arabs yet commonly call it Gerun; nor has the ancient Harmuz[3] on the mainland lost its name, but retains it to this day. Indian navigators are wont to divide the Persian Gulf into two parts, namely, the Strait of Harmuz, beginning between Guadél in

[1] Barros (*Dec. II*, Liv. II, cap. ii) gives a somewhat different version of the transaction. He says that the King of Cáez was willing to sell the island of Gerum to Gordunxá, but that several of his courtiers, and especially his queen, strongly opposed the sale, on the ground that the island was the key to the Strait. These objections led to strained relations: but, through the intervention of a *caciz* (priest) named Xeque Doniar, Malec Cáez, after an angry altercation with his queen, let Gordunxá have the island. Barros, who states that bribes played no small part jn the transaction, adds that, at his own request, the *caciz* was granted by Gordunxá a perpetual alms for a house of prayer on the island, "which alms the kings of Ormuz who succeeded to this Gordunxá at this present day pay to a mosque that this *caciz* built in a district called Hongez of Xeque Doniar, near the city of Lara, which will be some forty leagues from Ormuz." Couto (*Dec. V*, Liv. X, cap. i) records the transaction briefly, ascribes the opposition to the *mother* of Malec Cáez, and says not a word of any intermediary. The Dominican's account (*infra*, App. D) is silent regarding any negotiations whatsoever in connection with the migration to Jarún. In connection with what Barros says of "Xeque Doniar," I quote as follows from Ibn Batúta's narrative (*op. cit.*, tom. ii, pp. 241-242):—"We left Lár for the town of Khonjopál: the *khá* of this word is sometimes replaced by a *há* (Honjopál). It is there that the shaikh Abu Dolaf dwells, whom we wished to visit. . . . In his hermitage is found the tomb of the pious shaikh, the friend of God, the saint Dániál, whose name is famous in this country, and who enjoyed a high rank among contemplatives. This sepulchre is surmounted by a high cupola, erected by the sultan Kutbuddín Tamahtan (Tahamtan), son of Túrán Sháh." The name of the place seems to represent Persian *khánaga* or *hangáh* = dervish monastery + *pahlaw* = saint.—D. F.

[2] See Linschoten, vol. i, p. 46 and notes.—D. F.

[3] See *supra*, p. 155.

Persia and Cape Rozalgate in Arabia;[1] and the Strait of Basorá, from Harmuz or Gerun inwards to Basorà[2] itself, standing at its head, where it receives the united flood of the historic Tigris and Euphrates.[3]

Now betwixt these—though not fairly in their midst, for the first is about a hundred leagues long, and the other two hundred —this Isle of Harmuz or Gerun stands like a gate-post or beacon. It is some six or seven miles about; five miles from the nearest place in Persia, that is, from Doçàr,[4] and nine leagues from Arabia, on which coast the fairway is not as good for great ships as on the Persian shore, but yet navigable.

This little isle contains some things worthy of note, whereof I shall briefly relate a few, for the reader's pleasure.[5]

This Isle of Gerun was of old volcanic, for which reason it remains so rugged as to amaze the explorer of its interior. It has a lofty range of hills running east and west from the sea to sea.[6] From the foot of this to the northern promontory, whereon stands the fortified city, there is a less rugged plain. But beyond[7] the main range, there is nothing but lesser ranges, separate hills, and a rugged wilderness. There is plenty of good rock-salt, and very pure sulphur;[8] whereof, during my stay, there were found mines, and much got out of them. During the rains, which are very heavy, the storm-water from the hills flows over the plain around

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[1] The modern "Gulf of Omán."

[2] Modern "Persian Gulf," proper. Yet we still talk of ships employed at Máskat as on service "in the Persian Gulf." The "Straits of Ormuz" of to-day are the narrows, between Hormuz and Rás Musandám.

[3] The Shat-al-Aráb.

[4] Further on "Doçar" is described as "a stream." It is not on modern maps; but Valentyn's map of Persia has a "B. dosar." Couto (*Dec. X*, Liv. II, cap. xii) mentions "Doçar," and Barros (*Dec. III*, Liv. VI, cap. iv) has "Ducar" (for "Duçar").—D. F.

[5] With the description that follows compare that of the Dominican writer given in Appendix D, *infra*, and those of Barbosa (pp. 41-46); Linschoten (vol. i, chap. vi); Pyrard (vol. ii, chap. xviii); *Comment. of Af. Dalb.* (vol. iv, chap. xliii); P. Della Valle (*Viaggi*, Pt. II, p. 524 *et seq.*); and Nieuhof (*Churchill's Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 232 *et seq.*), the last being largely copied from Garcia de Silva y Figueroa (see *L'Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa*, pp. 31-46). See also Capt. A. W. Stiffe's account, with map and plans, in the *Geographical Magazine*, April, 1874; and Mr. Wm. Foster's "A View of Ormus in 1627" (with curious sketch by David Davies) in *Geographical Journal*, Aug., 1894; and the plan and views in Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, vol. ii, pp. 211, 298; vol. i, p. 330.—D. F.

[6] The central peak is 690 feet high (*Persian Gulf Pilot*).

[7] *I.e.*, south of.

[8] Cf. Barbosa, p. 41. In the *Lembrança de Cousas da India* (Lisbon Acad. of Sciences ed., p. 46) "o emxofre d'orumuz" is given as one of the articles of trade at Cambay. The *Comment. of Af. Dalb.* (vol. i, p. 188) also mention the sulphur mines.—D F.

the city, and thereof is made much salt, by the mere operation of nature and the heat of the sun, which is very great there. And it is a thing worth wonder, that though this isle stands in 27½[1] deg. N. lat., its summer heat is almost past bearing, and such as only on trial could well be believed. There are in the isle three perennial springs, in different places at the foot of the hills, whence flow three streams of clean and clear water, but as salt as the sea. And this salt gathers and hardens so under the sun, that I have often ridden over it, the water yet flowing below.

All this salt, as well as the rock-salt, which is clearly seen to increase like the rest, is very medicinal. But only that won from the water by the sun's help is used in victuals and condiments. For the rock-salt is so strong that, instead of preserving meat, it wastes the same, or any other provisions on which it may be strewn. Nevertheless some ships, and specially those from Cochin, take it in as ballast, and carry it to Bengal, where scarcity gives it a value. For in all the lands thereabouts is no salt made, but in the Isle of Sundiva alone.[2] There must be a like dearth of salt in many provinces of China, where it furnishes the chief of the royal customs. And this would seem to be the reason why most of the hams which the Portuguese bring thence are cured with alum.[3] Now we will drop the salt, as not necessary to our narrative. The Isle of Gerun, or Harmuz, has two *bandels*, or bays, the eastern and western, so hollowed out of the coast that their heads lie close together,[4] in a sandy point, where now stands the Portuguese fortress,[5] one of the finest in all the East in importance, and in plan and construction. On this spot dwelt the old man Gerun, from whom the isle has its name.

There is no fresh water, but rainwater caught and stored in many cisterns,[6] which are of great relief to the poor in summer.

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[1] *Sic in orig.*

[2] For a description of this island, and a summary of its history since the sixteenth century, see Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, *s. v.* "Sandwíp." A letter, dated 29th Dec., 1610, from the Viceroy of India replying to one from the King of Spain, refers to the revenue from salt in Sundiva, which, Filippe de Brito reported, "was of importance, and might become considerable."—D. F.

[3] Rock-salt has not been found in China; alum is abundant. A large revenue is still obtained from the *gabel* (see Wells Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, vol. i, pp. 308, 443).—D. F.

[4] "*Juntas.*" As a matter of fact, they *were united* by an artificial cut in later years, but not when Teixeira was there, nor when his book was printed, nor at this day, 1898 (*Persian Gulf Pilot*).

[5] See the plans of Hormuz referred to in the note on p. 164.—D. F.

[6] Cf. Linschoten, vol. i, p. 52. In 1583 the captain of Hormuz, Mathias de Albuquerque, fearing that in a siege the water-cisterns in the fort might be breached, caused to be made twenty-seven large "tanks" of teak, like those used on board ship, to hold water (Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. VI, cap. x). The remains of the water-cisterns are still to be found, scattered over the island.—D. F.

Only in Torunpaque, which is a patch of salt white soil on the point of the isle, there is one well which the king and the wazir use to water their gardens there.[1] In these all plants of those parts grow in perfection. But, contrariwise, in all the rest of the isle is no tree or plant to be seen, except that on the plain there are some thorny evergreens called *conar*, which bear a berry like the jujube, and on the ground a few little mallows may be seen in spring time. And there is purgative senna, which they call senna of Mecca.[2]

Of this salt mud they make water-vessels on the spot, which, when once sweetened, keep the water cool and pure. And I remember now that in 1596, when I happened to be at Harmuz,[3] the then king, Ferragut Xá,[4] a pretty old man, fell in love with the cash of one Bi Fatima, an old lady, the widow of one of his subjects called Rex Bradadin,[5] who had been wazir of Mogostam on the Persian mainland. She was said to be very rich, and the king proposed marriage to her. But she, to put that idea out of his head, told him that he might do so when he had made a new garden in Turùnpaque, and found a new freshwater spring. This she thought impossible, but the old man, doubtless spurred by his greed, was no laggard. He planted a new garden better than his old one, and found a good sweet spring; but not for all that did he get hold of the money.

Near this Torunpaque, among some rocks not far from the sea,

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[1] "Torunpaque" can hardly be said to survive, nor do its wells and gardens. But, on the east point of the isle, our charts show "Turumbagh (Ruins)," which can hardly represent any other place than this: the less so, as the hills above this part of the shore are the only hills on the island that are not salt. Probably the original name of the garden was "Túrán Bágh," and indicates its plantation or renewal by the royal historian. At least, one would like to think so. (Vide *Persian Gulf Pilot, sub voce* "Hormuz," and charts.) [On "Turumbaque" and its wells, see *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. i, pp. 138-140, 175-178; also Nieuhof's description of the place as he saw it in 1662 (*op. cit.*, p. 233).—D. F.]

[2] The "*conar*" certainly *was* a jujube (*Zizyphus*). I cannot find the name in either dictionaries or botanical books, as one of that genus of plants. But Thevenot gives it as the name of a tree, abundant in this very region of Persia, with a description and drawing, and his tree was pretty surely *Zizyphus Spina Christi* (Lovell's translation, London, 1686, Pt. II, p. 117). The "*Sena Maky*" was probably *Cassia halo sericca*, which grows even on the barren rock of Aden. But it may have been *C. angustifolia*, which also bears that name, quaintly Indianized by Hindus into *sonamukhi* = "golden-face." [Johnson's *Persian-Arabic-English Dictionary* has "*kunār*, the lote-fruit," which is the fruit of *Zizyphus lotus*, and the supposed food of the Lotophagi. —D. F.]

[3] See Introduction.—D. F.

[4] See note at end of this Appendix, and also Appendix B.—D. F

[5] Cf. *infra*. This is probably the "Rax Lardadi" (read "Bardadi") mentioned by Couto (*Dec. X*, Liv. II, cap. xi).—D. F.

is a spring which the native Harmuzís call Abdarmon, that is to say, "the medicinal water."[1] It is very purgative, and at a certain season many come here and drink it, *quant. suff.* And when they feel relieved, they eat a little of an orange or lemon. If they pass the pips presently, they think the cure complete, and go to dinner. There is plenty of game taken on the isle, namely gazelles, *adibes* (which are a sort of foxes), partridges, turtle-doves, and other birds. And it is matter of marvel what these creatures can drink, seeing that there is no fresh water in the isle but what I have mentioned. Some pretend that they drink salt water, and others tell other equally ill-founded stories.[2]

The city is not now very great, though it has been. But the most and best part of it was removed to clear a great esplanade in front of the fortress.[3] The houses are well built, of an indifferently good stone, quarried on the island, and of that fished out of the sea, as has been related already,[4] which is light, and best endures the earthquakes from which the isle suffers. The cement is made of white gypsum, abundant on the mainland, which they call *gueche*,[5] and of a local sort, red, and not so good. They use another cement for buildings set in the water, which I will describe briefly, as here unknown. They call it *charú*,[6] and it is made of the oldest and best cured dung collected on the middens. They take the upper stuff off this, and make cakes of it, and dry them in the sun. When they are quite dry, they make a mound of them, and burn them for a while, and keep the remaining ash. Of this they take a certain quantity, and lay it on a hard clean place; and around it stand seven or eight Arabs, men of that trade, every one with a staff in hand, who set to work to thresh it, striking all together. And one of them sings out, from one up to a settled number, the rest answering at each stroke in the same tone. And so it is brought to perfection, and used up at once; for if it be left to cool, and kept over a day, it goes bad, and is useless. This stuff is especially proof against water, and resists it for many years.[7]

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[1] From *ab* = "water" and *dáru* = "medicine." The spelling is evidently corrupt.

[2] There is not space here for an essay on the desert fauna of Persia. It is enough to say that the creatures mentioned are by no means impossible inhabitants of Hormuz. The *adibes*, according to the dictionaries, should have been either wolves or hyænas, but were probably jackals. [*Adibe* = Arabic *ad-dîb* = "the wolf," from *zîb*, wolf.—D. F.]

[3] Cf. the plans referred in the note on p. 164.—D. F.

[4] In the *Kings of Persia*, Bk. I, chap. xxxiii (see *infra*, Appendix B)

[5] *Gach*, Persian, = cement or mortar.

[6] Probably *sarugh* = cement (Persian).

[7] The mixture of good ashes with cement is well known throughout

The people of Harmuz are mostly white and well-conditioned, the men courteous, and the women good-looking. They all speak Persian, though not of the best, and all the natives are Moors, some Xyays who follow Aly, and others Sunys, who follow Mahamed, of which last is the king. Besides these there are many Christians, Portuguese, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobites, and Nestorians, and many heathen, Baneanes, Bangasalys, and Cambayatys,[1] and about a hundred and fifty houses of Jews.

Although the isle produces nothing of its own, all supplies are imported in abundance, and everything fetches a fair price, and is sold by weight. The climate and air are healthy, and disease is rare in summer, because the terrible heat and profuse sweat dispose of all ill-humours. But in autumn one pays for any irregularities of the summer. To conclude, Gerun is a place of general resort and open mart[2] for all the world; and there are exchanged all sorts of goods, and as much of them as any could wish, brought from many lands by merchants of various nations;[3] of which matters I will treat no more in particular, but return to my narrative of its foundation, which happened, as has been said, in the year 700 of the Moors' calendar, being A.D. 1302, when it received the name of the ancient city, which it keeps to this day.[4]

It throve exceedingly for the next two hundred years, so that it dominated the most part of Arabia, and much of Persia, and all the Persian seas as far as Baçorá. And so it lasted until its conquest by the Portuguese, whereupon it began to decline,

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the East, and Asiatic masons love to mix in it ingredients dictated by fancy or tradition, such as galls and sugar. But I think that something more than ashes must have been used in the cement described, the manufacture of which was apparently a trade secret, confined to "*Arabes que son officiales de aquello*," *i.e.*, to a trade guild. [A very similar description of a building material used at Gombroon is given by Mandelslo (*Travels*, Bk. III, p. 10).—D. F.]

[1] These are all Indian. The Banians (properly Wánís) of Gujarat are well known. "Bangasálys" is not the name of any race or sect, and it is probably a slip for "Bangálys;" at least there is some confusion. A "Bangasály" would be a warehouseman, or the superintendent of a government warehouse, more or less "bonded," which is a very old institution in the East. The derivation of the word seems a little doubtful, but it survives in Calcutta as "Bankshall" (*vide Hobson-Jobson* under that word). A merchant called Iogheá Bangsaly is mentioned below, Appendix B. Cambayatys are men of Khambayat, which we call "Cambay."

[2] This must not be taken to mean that it was a "free port" in the modern English sense, but only an "open door."

[3] Cf. the Dominican's account in Appendix D, *infra*; Barbosa, p. 41; Castanheda, Liv. II, cap. 58; Linschoten, vol. i, p. 47; Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 239.—D. F.

[4] "*Con el nombre del antiguo, como oy se llama.*"

by reason of the oppression and violence of the Portuguese captain and his officers, lying too far away from such as might have amended the same.[1]

Ayáz Ceyfin reigned ten years in Gerun, or Harmuz, and some say that he died at the end of that time, in the year 711 of the Hyxára, A.D. 1312. Others relate that when he had set all things in order in that new dominion, he handed it over to Amir Ayzadin Gordonxà, son of Salhor and Biby Zeyneb, and descended of the ancient kings, and returned to his wazirate of Calayat, in Arabia, where, after a while, he died. The title "Bibi," which I have mentioned several times, is Persian for "Lady."

Amir Ayzadin Gordon Xá, sixteenth on the list of kings of Old Harmuz, and second of the New,[2] proceeded on his accession to confirm his peace and amity with Neim, king of Keys, of whom Ayáz had had the island. So he sent ambassadors thither, but dealt in such conditions and reserves, that Neim, finding him bent upon some change, determined to anticipate him, and raised troops for an invasion, using the aid of Malek Ayzadin, governor of Xyráz.[3] Now, of various causes of quarrel by him set forth, the chief was that his customs were wrongfully diminished by Gordonxá, who detained at Harmuz the ships of India bound for Keys.[4]

The governor of Xyraz joined him with many and good troops, and they sailed together for Harmuz, whence Gordonxá came forth with his people, and awaited them at Sirmion,[5] a place in the isle of Broct or Queixome, with intent to hinder them from watering. Here he heard that ten laden ships of India, bound for Keys, were in the channel between Harmuz and Larek, which is an isle four leagues south of Harmuz, towards Arabia. He sailed out with his fleet, engaged and took them, and carried them

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[1] This seems to be pretty plain speaking,and would probably have got the writer into trouble had he written in his own country and language. However, it entitles him to the more credence when he gives a good character to Diego Munis Barreto, captain in 1604 (*Voyage*, chap. ii). [But see my note thereon, *supra*, p. 19. Ant. Gouvea (*op. cit.*, p. 15) speaks in similar terms regarding the malpractices of the captains of Hormuz, details of which will be found in Barros, Couto, Correa, &c. Cf. also Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 241; and Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 296.—D. F.]

[2] The kings of Insular Hormuz never quite relinquished their territories on the Persian and Arabian mainlands. [As mentioned above, p. 162, *n*, Barros and Couto ascribe to this man the founding of the island kingdom of Hormuz.—D. F.]

[3] Cf. what follows with the details given by the Dominican translator in Appendix D, *infra*.—D. F.

[4] Cf. *Imâms of 'Omân*, p. 416.—D. F.

[5] This port of Sermion seems to be represented by the modern Basidu, or Bassadore. [See *supra*, p. 19.—D. F.]

into Harmuz. Meanwhile the forces of Keys and Xyraz, a hundred and twenty *terradas* (which are vessels of moderate size),[1] full of men and well fitted out, were caught, near Sirmion, in a terrible storm, such as are common in that strait. Their fleet was broken up, and the commanders, with what few ships remained to them,[2] took shelter at Angam,[3] a little island which lies close against that of Broct, and forms a safe and spacious harbour. Here the king of Keys heard that Gordonxa had made prize of the India ships; by which news aroused, he landed his men, meaning to pass over into Harmuz the next night.[4]

Gordonxá, hearing of this, made ready with his men, perhaps twelve thousand, and posted the best of them[5] on a beach called Karú,[6] about a thousand paces from the city, fittest for the enemy's landing. And there they attempted it, but were beaten off with heavy loss of ships and men. They drew off seaward, and the men of Keys made overtures of peace, but the Harmuzis would have none of them. And Gordonxâ, advised by Sangor Roknadin, his chief captain, determined to attack his unwary enemies, who took to flight when they heard of his intent, yet not so timely but that the Harmuzis made a great slaughter of them; and after this defeat they returned to Keys.

But in the year of the Hyxára 714, that is in A.D. 1315, they invaded Harmuz again, with many more men and ships, and blockaded the isle for four months, so straitly that Gordonxa must have surrendered, if he had not foreseen the case, and laid in so much provision that there was no dearth, nor any rise in prices.

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[1] See *supra*, p. 22, *n.*—D. F.

[2] "*La poca que les quedò.*" Stevens has "the ten ships that escaped;" which I give as a sample of the misprints in his translation. ["Ten" should, of course, be "few."—D. F.]

[3] "Angam" is the modern "Henjam" (*Persian Gulf Pilot*). [Cf. *supra*, p. 19.—D. F.]

[4] "*Echó su gente en tierra, con animo de à la noche siguiente passar en Harmuz.*" Why he should land his men in one island, in order to take them to another the next night, is not clear. The distance from Angam (Henjam) to Kishm, which is the nearest point of the island to Hormuz, is at least thirty-five miles by land, so nothing was to be gained by a land march. Perhaps they only landed for refreshments, and "to stretch their legs" for a few hours.

[5] "*El mejor tercio.*" There is evidently no use in arguing about the Spanish military slang of the 16th and 17th centuries, when the subject is an Arab militia of the 14th.

[6] This beach is mentioned again further on. Nieuhof (*op. cit.*, p. 232) says: "The Western part of the Island, extending along the Sea shoar, where Mountains end, is call'd *Karu*, where you see a few houses scattered up and down belonging to the Moors. "Karú" is apparently connected with Persian *karān* = shore. Couto (*Dec. VI*, Liv. X, cap. iii) spells the name "Chaurú."—D. F.

When the king of Keys saw how little he could do, he betook himself to making the peace, but with ill design. Messages were exchanged, and it was agreed that the two kings should meet on the beach. The king of Keys came thither in a boat, and leapt ashore; and when the king of Harmuz came to embrace him, being a mighty man, he took Gordonxá up in his arms, and carried him aboard the boat, and then into his own *terrada*, and set sail with all his squadron, before the Harmuzis could do anything to hinder it; and so carried him off to Keys.

When Bibi Sultan, wife of Gordonxa, knew what happened, she called on Malek Guayacadin Dinár, son of her brother Xanxa, to assume the government of the land. After five months, the king of Keys came once more against Harmuz, and brought Gordonxa with him, confined aboard a *terrada*. But when they had come more than half-way, there fell on them so fierce a storm that the fleet was scattered, and most of the ships were lost. That in which was Gordonxá was driven ashore on the beach of Harmuz, whither came a multitude of people, and brought him into the city with acclamation.

But Malek Guayacadin Dinár, who by this time took on himself the state of a king, would not obey Gordonxa, who therefore took shelter in the house of one Koaia Mamud Kateb, his own secretary; and, not feeling safe there, went the same night to the Persian mainland, and dwelt in the fortress of Minab, which name means "the Blue Fort."[1] Dinár feared his return, and found that all men were deserting himself for Gordonxá, wherefore he fled from the isle to Makron, a kingdom lying between Persia and Send. Amir Ayzadin Gordonxa came to the Isle of Harmuz, and was received in peace; and two years later he died there, in the year of the Moors 717, A.D. 1318.[2]

His son, Amir Mobarezadin Baharon Xá,[3] succeeded him, and was seventeenth king of Harmuz. But the troops in garrison of the mainland chose for king a brother of his, Xa Kodbadin, and

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[1] Presumably the Blue Fort, named from some blue-tiled building, or blue water, therein or thereabouts. Possibly only the Glazed or Enamelled Fort; but even in that case probably owing its name to blue glazed tiles.

[2] Barros and Couto (*ubi supra*) record very briefly the conflict between the kings of Hormuz and Kais, resulting in the defeat of the latter and the annexation of Kais by Gordun Sháh. They add that the latter became a vassal to the king of Persia, and that he enjoyed peace for the rest of his reign, which lasted thirty years.—D. F.

[3] Barros and Couto (*ubi supra*) say that Gordun Sháh was succeeded by his eldest son "Torunxá," who reigned thirty-four years (Couto has "twenty-four" by a *lapsus pennæ*). They record no events in his reign. It will be seen from the footnote further on that Ibn Batúta describes Kutbuddín as son of "Ṭúrán Sháh."—D. F.

brought him from the fort of Barkamin,[1] where he then was, to Minab. Baharonxa, hearing of this, made ready and went in search of him, whom he found with Malek Nazomadin, another brother; engaged them, beat them, and returned victorious to Harmuz.

His chief captains were Mir Xabadin Isuf and Mir Taiadin Zanguyxá, one by sea and the other ashore. They grew to be very jealous about his favour, and much disturbed the kingdom; wherefore the king arrested both of them. Just then the men of Keys invaded Harmuz, but had no better luck than before, and retreated in disgust. On this occasion the king set free the two imprisoned captains. But Mir Xabadin Ysuf resented his usage and sought vengeance. Now the king wanted to make an end of the business of his brothers, who yet troubled him, wherefore he embarked with his people for the mainland. But, as the wind was against him, he could not set sail, and went home again for the night. At midnight Mir Xabadin Isuf, with some horse and foot, came to the king's gates, and called him out, saying that Bibi Sultan Salgor had invaded the isle in arms: which he believing came forth, and after him his mother, and his brother Nazomadin Agem Xá, who had lately been reconciled to him. Mir Xabadin Isuf took them and cast them into prison, and proclaimed himself king in the year of the Hyxára 718, A.D. 1319.[2]

Now there arose two factions in Harmuz, one that followed Mir Xabadin Isuf, and the other that of Mir Kodbadin, brother of the captive king, and formerly defeated by him on the mainland. Malek Dinar, above mentioned as having fled to Makron, returned to Harmuz with a strong force, giving out that he came to help Mirxá Kodbadin. But on his arrival, finding that Mir Xabadin Isuf's side prevailed, he made friends with him. Bibi Sultan, the sister of Dinár, and Bibi Nazmalek, the wife of Mir Xabadin Isuf, united their efforts for this reconciliation. But Xabadin, to make himself safe, cut the heads off the imprisoned king, his mother, and his brother.

Xakodbadin went over to Kalayat,[3] with Bibi Mariam, wife of Ayaz Ceyfin. At this time Xabadin Isuf heard that the men of Keys were invading him, and went forth against them. But

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[1] I cannot identify this fort. [The Survey of India Map of Persia marks a number of "Birkets" on the mainland north of Kishm, Birket Bandar and Birket Mirzai being the nearest to Hormuz.—D. F.]

[2] Barros and Couto (*ubi supra*) state that "Torunxá" was succeeded by his younger brother "Mahamed Xá," the events of whose reign of twenty-nine years they pass over in silence.—D. F.

[3] See Marco Polo's statement as to the rulers of Hormuz escaping to Kalhát when any trouble arose, and Yule's note thereon (*Marco Polo*, vol. ii, pp. 448, 449).—D. F.

when he had taken a post on their route, he took fright and came home again; nor did they do any more than on former occasions. But after one year, Xakodbadin came from Kalayat, with Malek Gelaladin Queyzy and Koaja Iamaladin Neym; surprised and seized Harmuz, and made Mir Xabadin Isuf prisoner.

Mir Xakodbadin, son of Gordonxá, having possessed himself of the isle and kingdom of Harmuz,[1] presently did slay Mir Xabadin Isuf, his wife Bibi Nazmalek, his two sons, Mir Emadadin Oçen, and Amir Açen, who were confined in the fort of Gat.[2] It was not long before Malek Gelaladin Queyzy, and Koaia Gemaladin Neym, who had established Xa Kodbadin in his kingdom, plotted to slay him and keep it for themselves. He heard of it and sought to take them, but they fled. Gemaladin Neym was drowned at sea. His ally took refuge in Keys, with a small following, and Kodbadin and his kingdom enjoyed peace for ten years.

Now the old king of Keys was dead, and Malek Guayaçadin had succeeded him. This king invaded Harmuz with a good fleet, while Kodbadin was in Mogostam, on the mainland, for the hot weather, which is insupportable in the isle. And he had surely taken it but for the defence of Mahamed Sorkab and Ebrahem Salgor, Kodbadin's captains of the gates, to whom he had committed the guard of it.

These drove away their enemy much discouraged. And when Xákodbadin heard of it he came to the isle, and shortly fitted out a fleet, invaded Keys, and took it by surprise, with great slaughter of the Keysis, and capture of King Guayacadin and some of his kindred, whom afterwards he put to death. He left a strong garrison in Keys, and on his way back to Harmuz he conquered the Isle of Barhen,[3] world-renowned for the precious pearls of its sea, and for the perennial springs of fresh water at the bottom of the same: of all which, since we are come to the said island, it will be proper to give some short account.[4]

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[1] Barros and Couto (*ubi supra*) say that to "Mahamed Xá" succeeded his son "Cobadim" or "Cobadixá," who reigned thirty years. —D. F.

[2] Perhaps Gez or Gatan of the Royal Geographical Society's maps. [See *supra*, p. 157, *n.*—D. F.]

[3] Kuṭbuddín did not take the shortest way home. Bahrein is about 3 deg. west of Kais, and Hormuz about 2½ deg. east. The direction is, roughly speaking, from west and by south to east and by north.

[4] Cf. descriptions in Barros (*Dec. III*, Liv. VI, cap. iv); *Comment. of Af. Dalb.* (vol. iv, p. 187); Nieuhof (*op. cit.*, p. 243). For a modern account of Bahrein, see Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia*, chap. xiv. On the antiquities of the place, see *Royal As. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xii, N. S., p. 189, *et seq.*—D. F.

The Isle of Barhen stands within the narrow sea of Bacorá, between that port and the Isle of Gerun, or Harmuz, and about a hundred leagues distant from each of these. It lies close against the Arabian shore, opposite the port of Katifa, in the province of Lacáh, one of the Turkish possessions in that region. The people are Arabs, excepting a Persian wazir and garrison.[1] It belongs to the kingdom of Harmuz, but ever since A.D. 1602 the King of Persia has possessed it by treason.[2] The soil is good and

[1] Thos. Keridge, in "A note of the ports of Perscia, observed from Sir Robert Sherley," dated Oct. 1614 (printed in *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. ii), says :—"Bareyne is an island upon the coast of Arrabya, 40 leagues off the coast of Perscia. It yields no profit for commodity, except only the fishing of pearls, which are esteemed to be the richest and best in the world. This island the king of Perscia took from the Portingals and keepeth a garrison of 800 horse therein. This place is environed with shoals in such sort that small fustoes very often run aground and is not navigable with vessels of burden" (see also *Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 307, vol. ii, p. 99.)—D. F.

[2] Thos. Boys, writing to Lord Salisbury from "Spahune" on 10th June, 1609, refers to "the Barren, . . . taken by the King of Persia some six years past" (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, vol. i, No. 446). Ant. Gouvea, who was in Hormuz shortly after the seizure of Bahrein by the Persians, gives details of the occurrence in his *Relaçam*, Liv. I, cap. v. The *guazil* of Bahrein, having put to death a wealthy Moor whose pearls he coveted, was in turn assassinated by the Moor's brother, who then seized the fort for the Persians. The captain of Hormuz, D. Pedro Coutinho, dispatched a fleet under D. Francisco de Sotomayor to retake the place, the *guazil* of Hormuz being sent with a large force to besiege it by land. Thereupon, Alaverdi Khán, governor of Shiráz, sent an army under Adam Sultán to lay siege to Gombroon, in order to divert the Portuguese from Bahrein. Nevertheless, says Gouvea, the Portuguese would have recaptured the latter place, had not the Viceroy of India, Aires de Saldanha, misled by certain persons, replaced Pedro Coutinho by Diogo Moniz Barreto, owing to whose illness and the sickness among the Portuguese, as well as to the enemy's being reinforced, the efforts of Gaspar de Mello de Sampaio to retake Bahrein were of no avail. In cap. xxii Gouvea relates how, in 1603, on a rumour that D. Jorge de Castelbranco was coming with a fleet from India against Bahrein, Alaverdi Khán again beseiged Gombroon, and seized the territories of the King of Hormuz. By command of the Sháh, he retired once more to Shiráz, and Bahrein was ordered to be restored to the Portuguese ; but this order was never fulfilled. In a letter of 25th Feb., 1605, the King of Spain expresses his fear lest Bahrein be occupied by the Turks, and commands the Viceroy, if the place be not restored by the Persians, to make war on it by sea and land, and also to bribe the captain of the fort to give it up. In subsequent letters the King continues to urge the matter on the attention of successive Viceroys, the latest printed one (in *Doc. Rem.*, tom. iv) being of date 21st March, 1617. With the loss of Hormuz, in 1622, disappeared Portugal's hopes of regaining Bahrein.—D. F.

fruitful, especially of dates, which are most abundant. There is little wheat, but some barley. Rice, the staple food after dates, is brought from India through Harmuz. There is water in plenty, rather brackish than sweet. The best is that of Nanyáh, the name of certain very deep wells in the centre of the isle. The next is that got from the bottom of the sea, as follows. The chief town of the isle, Manamà, is on the sea shore, and near it, in the depth of three or three and a-half fathoms, are several great springs of fresh, clear, and wholesome water. There are some men who make their living by bringing it up from below in waterskins, which they do very cleverly and easily, where it bubbles up, and sell it cheap.[1]

Certain of the oldest Moors of the isle, with whom I spoke of this, told me that these springs were once far inland; but the sea broke in and overflowed them, as we see at this day. And I think it likely that from this the isle took the name of Barhen, which in Arabic means "the Two Seas": from *bar*, meaning sea, and *hen*, that is two, namely, the salt and the fresh. Yet it might be derived from two abundant watercourses which run across the island, but the first derivation sounds more probable.[2]

This Isle of Barhen is famous for the number and quality of the pearls fished up in its sea and thereabouts, which matter I shall touch on briefly, as well known. There are in the East two great fisheries of pearls and seed-pearls,[3] namely, this of Barhen, in the Persian Gulf, and that of Manar. The latter is in India, in the sea between the Isle of Seylan and that part of the continent which we call Tuto Kory, or more properly, Tutan Kory, from the Cape Cory, so-called by the natives, but by us Portuguese Comory. Inwards,[4] this coast is continuous with that of Choromandel, or Choro Bandell, which is to say the Port of Rice, for that much is exported thence.

The fishery of Barhen[5] begins in some years in June, but more

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[1] All this description is confirmed by many other writers, ancient and modern. But this is no place for an article on so considerable a subject. [See Linschoten, vol. i, p. 52.—D. F.]

[2] The name, Bahrein, seems to have firstly and rightly belonged to the neighbouring peninsula, and afterwards been applied to this island, the ancient Tylus and modern Awál. Close to it lies Arad, the classic Aradus. "Bahrein" certainly does mean "two seas" or "two waters."

[3] "*Aljofar.*"

[4] *I.e.*, northwards, further into the Bay of Bengal. The quaint etymologies in this passage are out of favour now (vide *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. vv.*). Tutan Kory, naturally, is our Tuticorin.

[5] I (D. F.) append the following recent report on "The Bahrein Pearl Fisheries":—"In the centre of the broad V-shaped bay that separates El Katr from Turkish El Katif, lies the object of much solicitude, viz., the Island of Bahrein, famous throughout the world for

usually in July, and goes on during that month and August. A fleet is formed of about two hundred *terradas*, more or less—a hundred from Barhen, fifty from Julfar, fifty from Nihhelu. They commonly go to fish at Katar,[1] a port of Arabia, ten leagues south of the Isle of Barhen. When the oyster is fished up, it is presently opened, and the seed pearls are taken out. The pearls of that sea exceed all others in quality and weight. I say in weight, because, of two pearls, alike in size and shape, one of Barhen will always outweigh one from elsewhere. The known value of the yearly trade of the isle, in pearls and seed pearls, is five hundred thousand ducats; to say nothing of a hundred thousand more which may represent those smuggled away, for fear of the wazir's extortions. The farm of this land is worth more than four thousand ducats a year to the captain of Harmuz, exclusive of the profits of offices therein.[2]

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its pearl fisheries, which rank with those of Ceylon. The island is thirty miles long, and from six to nine miles broad. The pearl fishing at Bahrein lasts, according to an Indian report, from June to October, and it is pursued not only at Bahrein, but along the entire Arabian coast. The Bahrein banks, stretching for a length of four to five leagues are, however, the richest and most certain. At the season of the fisheries some 4,500 boats of every size and rig may be seen, all busily employed. They carry from five to fourteen men each, and the total number of hands engaged is said to be 30,000. The scene is one of the greatest picturesqueness and animation. Like most of the gulf ports and trading settlements, it was taken early in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese, who established a station there and at El Katif, to ensure a monopoly of the pearl trade. When the pearls have been picked out of the shells, they are handed to the master of the boat, who proceeds to sort them by the manipulation of a triple set of brass sieves, pierced with holes of different diameter. The pearls that are unable to pass through the largest sieve are called 'Ras,' the residue of the second sieve are 'Batin,' while the resulting contents of the third sieve are known as 'Dzel.' Made up into separate batches, according to their classification, the assorted pearls are then sold to the pearl merchant upon an intricate scale of values, depending upon the shape, colour, specific gravity, and size. The merchant rearranges them in small packets and despatches them to the Indian market, whence a great many go back again to Arabia and Persia. Generally speaking, the Bahrein pearls are not so white as Ceylon pearls, but are larger and more regular in shape; while they are said to retain their lustre for a longer period. The Ceylon banks require to be carefully watched, and fishing is only permitted by Government at various periods. On the other hand, the Gulf banks give no indication of a failing supply."—*Journal of the Society of Arts*, March 15, 1901.

[1] There is now no port called Katar on our charts. But it is the name of the whole peninsula east of Bahrein. I cannot identify Julfar; Teixeira says elsewhere that it was an Arabian port (*Kings of Persia*, Bk. I, chap. xxvii). [See *infra*, Appendix B.—D. F.]

[2] Either there is some confusion here between the past and (the writer's) present; or the captain must have managed to bargain for

In the sale and weighing of pearls they use *querates*, or *quilates*, *abas*, of which three make a *quirate*, and *maticals*, each of twenty-four *quilates*.[1] The small pearls are classed for sale as of 20, 30, 40, etc., to the *matical*. The Barhenis fish with a diving stone, in from twelve to fifteen fathoms of water. Besides the general fishery at Katar, during the season mentioned above, there are separate fisheries in September at Nihhelu, Barhen, and Julfar, and others at Mascate, Teve, and Roçalgate, all within the narrow sea of Harmuz. But these last are not very productive, though sometimes important enough to such as undertake them.

The second fishery that I have mentioned is called that of Chilao, because it took place formerly[2] in a port of that name in the isle of Seylan, in the same region.[3] And this port is so called because "Chilao" means "fishery" in the Chingala tongue,[4] which is that spoken in the Island. It is carried on in April, and early in May,[5] a month, and sometimes two, earlier than that of Barhen. For that is about the difference of time in the approach of the sun; this place being nearer the Equator, and the summer beginning earlier;[6] and at that time the sea is most calm.

The fleet is of four hundred to five hundred boats, each bearing

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this farm with the Persians—a thing not improbable in 1610, when the Portuguese were still in power on the Persian seas.

[1] *Quilate*="carat," Arabic *kîrât*. "*Matical*"=Arab *miskal* (properly *mithkal*), an Arabian weight—about 73 gr. (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Miscall").—D. F.

[2] A royal letter of February 20th, 1610, in *Doc. Rem.*, mentions that no pearl fishery had taken place off the Ceylon coast for six years, owing to the tyrannous Náyak of Madura's preventing the divers (Catholics) from coming. João Rodriguez de Sá e Menezes, in his *Rebelion de Ceylan* (cap. vi), says, that when his father, Constantino de Sá, arrived in Ceylon, in September, 1618, as captain-general, the pearl fisheries "for many years had become extinct, because of the great poverty into which the Paravas had fallen, for they made no profit for want of accommodation and of boats."—D. F.

[3] *I.e.*, as Manár. Chilaw is about forty-eight miles north of Colombo.

[4] Teixeira makes the same statement in chap. xxxv of Bk. I of his *Kings of Persia*. It is almost as erroneous as that of Barros, who in *Dec. III*, Liv. II, cap. i, says that Chilao means "perils or loss of the Chijs [Chinese]." Yule, in *Hobson-Jobson*, says that Chilaw "is a corruption of the Tamil *salābham*, the diving." The Sinhalese name is Halávata or Salávata (the "Bandar Saláwat" of Ibn Batúta), which appears to be derived from *saláva*=eddy, whirlpool (Sansk. *jalâvarta*). The Tamil word *salápam*="pearl fishery" seems to be a corruption of Sansk. *jalevâha*="diver, diving."—D. F.

[5] A fuller description of the Ceylon pearl fishery is given by Ribeiro (*Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão*, Liv. I, cap. xxii).—D. F.

[6] Manár lies in 9 deg., and the centre of Bahrein Island in 26 deg. N. lat.

from sixty to ninety men. One third of them are *karoas*,[1] that is, divers, and the rest are called *mandecas*,[2] and attend them, two to each diver. The boats are all divided into certain compartments called *peitacas*,[3] wherein every diver throws his catch of oysters separately. They call the oyster *chipo*.[4] They may not open these until the day fixed by the officers of the camp,[5] after the fishery is over. This is generally of two *balyos*,[6] of eight working days each. They reckon up every day's catch, as one hundred, two hundred, or a thousand oysters of each boat, separately, in order to know when there has been fishing enough. For they wish to keep the production pretty close to a mean, lest they cheapen the pearls. When two *balyos* are not enough, they allow half a *balyo* more, or even a whole one. The fishermen or divers are regularly paid, and have also their own catch; save that every day they must give one dive each to the owner of the boat, at his choice; and at the end of each week, one whole day's fishing.

The Nayque of Madureh, who is the lord of their land,[7] receives the whole fishery of one day in the season.[8] Another used to be given to shoe the wife of the captain of Manar, a Portuguese officer in charge of that sea. But this has been put a stop to by the good order of the Fathers of the Company,[9] who manage everything here.[10] The fishing takes place in from six to eight

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[1] Sinh. *kárâva* (pl. *kárávó*) = "a man of the fisher caste," which was the one that engaged in diving. Ant. Gouvea (*op. cit.*, p. 13 *v*) applies the term *coroá* to a diver of Máskat.—D. F.

[2] Tamil *maṇḍakkan*, *maṇḍakál*, = "one that draws up the divers" (Winslow's *Tam. Dict.*).—D. F.

[3] G. de Orta (f. 223 *v*) says that at Malacca the spaces in the interior of the durian were called *peitacas*. Dom. Vieira's *Dicc. Port.* explains the word as meaning the room in a junk. It is Javanese *petak*, which has various meanings, one being "a compartment or subdivision in the hold of a ship" (Crawford's *Malay Dict.*).—D. F.

[4] Tam. *śippi* = bivalve shell-fish or shell (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Chipe").—D. F.

[5] "*Real*," the temporary settlement on the beach, from which the Ceylon pearl fishery is conducted.

[6] I cannot explain *balyo*, unless (as Mr. H. Beveridge suggests) it represents Sanskrit *pála* = a turn of work.—D. F.

[7] "*Aquellas tierras de su habitacion.*" The "lands" referred to are those on the mainland, whence the fishermen come. [See foot-note, *supra*, p. 177.] On the Náyaks of Madura, see J. H. Nelson's *The Madura Country*, Pt. III, pp. 82-86, and Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 55 *et seq.*—D. F.

[8] After the Dutch had ousted the Portuguese from Ceylon, the claims of the Náyak of Madura and others formed the subject of much dispute and correspondence for many years.—D. F.

[9] The Jesuits.

[10] The spiritual care of the inhabitants of the north-western coast of Ceylon, and the rents of certain towns therein, were allotted to the

fathoms of water, and diving stones are used. There are usually two Portuguese galeots to convoy the fleet, by reason of the Malabars, who have sometimes plundered or injured the fishermen. The people who resort to the fishery, merchants, public and private servants, and fishermen, may be fifty to sixty thousand in number. Of these is formed a camp, where it may be convenient to the fishery. For that is not always in the same place; but now in one, and again in another; and the trade comes probably to more than a million and a half in gold every year.

When the fishery is over, proclamation is made that the oysters may be opened. When this has been done, the flesh removed, and the pearls extracted, the people go over to Tutan Cory, where there is a fair which begins in the middle of June, and lasts through July, August, September, and sometimes all October.[1] All dealings take place in the *pataré*,[2] which is a building like a custom-house, by means of brokers appointed by the Nayque. He levies four per cent from the seller, but nothing from the buyer. The latter has forty-eight hours' time allowed him, within which he may cancel the bargain if he repent of it: which is done easily and honestly. There is much trade in smuggled pearls outside of the *pataré*, free from such hindrances as customs or return of the goods. They balance their accounts by numbers and weight, with some difficulty, but very cleverly and closely.[3]

There are pearls in China also, but not of the highest value, except those of unusual form,[4] which we call here *topos*;[5] by the exportation of which to India the Portuguese have more than once made fortunes. So much has been written about pearls and seed-pearls[6] that nothing remains to say. Yet, with due respect to all writers on the subject, I must say that it seems to me

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Jesuits when, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were permitted (much against the wishes of the Franciscans) to establish a regular mission in Ceylon. From contemporary official documents, it appears that the captain of Manár was guilty of levying blackmail from the natives; hence the loss of his wife's privileges referred to. —D. F.

[1] Cf. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 73 *et seq.*; Nieuhof's *Travels*, *op. cit.*, p. 295 *et seq.*—D. F.

[2] I cannot explain this word, unless it is intended to represent Tamil *dyatturai* = "custom-house."—D. F.

[3] Lit.: "the reckoning and weight is by *chegos*, by a method not easy [Stevens has 'very easy' !] but very subtle and ingenious." Dom. Vieira's *Dicc. Port.* explains *chego* by *quilate* = carat.—D. F.

[4] "*Barrocos*," including drop-formed pearls, fit for pendants.

[5] Lit. "tops."—D. F.

[6] "*Perlas y Aljofar*," with the usual distinction. But Teixeira constantly uses *aljofar* as meaning full-sized pearls, and I have had to translate according to the context.

unreasonable to assert that pearls are engendered of dew-drops.[1] To this there are a thousand objections; for instance, that the oyster itself, which is heavy and clumsy, cannot come to the surface to receive the dewdrop; still less can it reach him pure at the bottom through so much of salt water. Moreover, we know by experience that the deeper the water where the oyster is obtained, the more and finer are the pearls and seed-pearls, and those of the shallows less, in number and in size.

Now it would not be thus if they came of the dewdrops, for those oysters nearest the surface would get most and purest dew, and be most influenced by the sun, acting more strongly on what is nearest him than on more distant objects. But the contrary is the case. And my opinion is favoured by what I have often seen and tried, both by myself and in company of Christians, Moors, and heathen, well skilled in pearls. That is, that we took out of the oyster-shells, with tools made for that purpose, pearls and seed-pearls produced by the shells themselves. These, whether for want of time, or from defective arrangement of their material, or from any natural or other cause, had not come to perfection, and yet remained united to the oyster-shell, of whose substance they were formed. But when they had been detached, polished, and set in order, they looked as if they had been born apart like the perfect pearls, and fetched very good prices.

Wherefore I hold it for certain that pearls are born and formed of the very matter of the shell, and of nothing else; since this is very likely and the objections to the other opinion so great. And this is supported by the great resemblance of the pearl and the oyster-shell in substance and colour. Further, it is a thing observed and well vouched for, that whatever oyster contains pearls has the flesh unsound and almost rotten in those parts where the greater and less pearls are produced, in proportion to their quantity. And those oysters that have no pearls, or so few and small as not to be worth reckoning, are sound and clean-fleshed.[2] And this is no weak argument in favour of my opinion, subject always to correction of better judgment. Yet I wonder at those doctors[3] who even now prescribe pierced or entire pearls in their recipes, making much of the difference, and their error is inexcusable. For they cannot be acquitted on the plea of

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[1] A very old belief, embodied by Moore in his *Lalla Rookh*:

"And precious their tears as that rain from the sky,
Which turns into pearls as it falls in the sea."—D. F.

[2] On the vexed question of the origin of pearls see the Paper by O. Collett on "Pearl Oysters and Pearl Fisheries," and the discussion thereon, in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society* for 1900.—D. F.

[3] "*Señores Dotores.*" But one cannot describe a sixteenth-century doctor of physic by so very modern a phrase as "medical gentleman."

ignorance, not admissible in this matter, nor on that of precedent, which is inequitable: knowing that all pearls are of the same medicinal value, whether entire or drilled through, for none are naturally perforated.[1]

And now we will go on with Xa Kodbadin. He, when he had taken Barhen, as we have said, took also Katifa, Karga, and Derab, and mastered all the shores both Persian and Arabian,[2] whence every year he drew great tribute.

Xa Kodbadin had a brother named Nazomadin, whom he loved and honoured greatly, in return for which the other plotted his murder.[3] Kodbadin went to the mainland to hunt,[4] and being in the Rudxur[5] for that purpose, Nazomadin and his fellows, under pretence of chasing a hare towards Moridon, left the king, and went to the beach of Docàr, a stream of the mainland, which lies opposite Gerun, or Harmuz, only five miles away. Here he embarked himself and his company, who were awaiting him, in *terranques*, and passed over to the isle. As all the chief of the people were away in the king's company, it was easily subdued, and when he had won it he called himself king.

When Xakodbadin heard what road his brother Nazomadin had taken, he followed him at full speed. But by the time he got to the beach of Dosar, his brother had reached the isle. As he could do nothing else at once, he remained on the mainland, and secured himself in Kolongon,[6] whence he sent out posts with letters to all his territories, calling for men and aid against his brother. This happened in the year of the Hyxaray 745: A.D. 1345.

Malek Nazomadin, having taken possession of the Isle of Har-

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[1] Cf. Garcia de Orta, *Colloquios*, f. 140.—D. F.

[2] This should not be taken to mean, necessarily, that his power extended even to Aden, still less to the Red Sea. But the modern history of the Imáms of Máskat shows that such a maritime empire was easily established over a very much greater extent of the coasts of the Indian Ocean, by a similar dynasty, acting from a similar base. Katifa and Karga (Karak) retain the same or similar names. Derab seems to be an isle at the eastern mouth of the Shat-al-Arab.

[3] A good example of our author's occasional style, translated *verbatim*.

[4] Compare what follows with the account by Ibn Batúta, given in a note *infra* (p. 183).—D. F.

[5] "Rudxur" = "Salt River." Probably this is the "Rudkhaneh-i-Shur" of the Royal Geographical Society's Map, near Bandar Abbas. I cannot find Moridon, nor Docàr, or Dosar, though there can be little doubt as to where the latter was, behind where salt marshes of later growth now lie opposite Hormuz. [See *supra*, p. 164 *n.*—D. F.]

[6] This is evidently the "Kulaghan" of the Survey of India Map, on the mainland north-east of Hormuz Island.—D. F.

muz, proclaimed himself king,[1] and sent speedy notice of his accession to all its dependencies, calling on the wazirs and governors to acknowledge him, and promising them his gratitude for their homage. But none came into him, except some towns of Hirahistan,[2] who received his message. And even these, in the summer, sent to ask for troops to defend their palm-orchards against Kodbadin's men, who harassed them, so that they could not gather in their dates, the staple food of those lands. And they gave him warning that if he made any delay they must needs submit to Kodbadin. Nazomadin, advised of their mind, made up his own to pass over to the mainland; and first he tempted all the wazirs and chiefs who were with Kodbadin. But none of these accepted his promises, except one Homer Soiadin, chief gateward, and one of Kodbadin's commanders.[3] When Nazomadin had secured this officer in his interest, he crossed over to Persia and marched towards Kolongon. Kodbadin marched to meet him; they fought a drawn battle, and Homer Soiadin, with the most and best of his troops, went over to Nazomadin. Xa Kodbadin, seeing this, retreated towards Iasquez, a place on the Persian shore, forty leagues from where he had lost the battle.

Thence he crossed the narrow sea to Arabia, and landed in Kalayate, where he stayed for a year, and the port gained much by his presence, for he detained there the ships bound from India to Harmuz.[4] Here he received news of the death of Nazomadin,[5] and that in his will he had strictly ordered the elder of his two sons, Xambé and Xadi, to go presently to Kalayate, submit to Xá Kodbadin, and deliver to him the kingdom, as his by right. But the young men did much the contrary.

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[1] According to Barros and Couto (*ubi supra*), "Cobadim" or "Cobadixá" was succeeded on his death by his elder son "Ceifadim" or "Ceifadixá," who reigned twenty years.—D. F.

[2] There seems to be little evidence as to these towns, but probably they were on the Persian mainland, east or north of the Strait of Hormuz, and west or north of Jask.

[3] "*Maestre de campo.*" The translation may seem to exaggerate this officer's rank, but the sequel shows his importance.

[4] Ibn Batúta (*op. cit.*, tom. ii, p. 200) says that when he was at Dhofár he was told "that the Sultan Kuṭbúddín Tamahtan (Tahamtan), son of Ṭúrán Sháh, lord of Hormuz, once attacked it by land and sea; but that God most high unchained against him a violent wind. His vessels were shattered; he thereupon abandoned the siege of the town, and made peace with its king." If this incident actually occurred, it may have taken place at the time when Kuṭbúddín was staying at Kalhát, as above mentioned.—D. F.

[5] Nothing is said here of the poisoning of Nizámúddín, as related by Ibn Batúta (*infra*, p. 184 *n.*). If the latter's story be true, Kuṭbúddín's expressions of sorrow must have been mere hypocrisy.—D. F.

Kodbadin showed much grief at his brother's death, and celebrated funeral rites[1] very handsomely after their fashion, putting himself and all his people into mourning. And he wrote to his nephews most affectionate letters of condolence, offering to hold them as his own sons. But they paid no attention to him, and managed their government in such fashion, that their follies and oppressions were a scandal to the whole kingdom. When Kodbadin understood them ill-disposed, he made ready to invade them, and sailed with his fleet to Iaguin, a town and port on the Persian coast,[2] then inhabited by Arabs, like many others thereabouts. Here he was opposed by the very numerous and well-appointed fleet of his nephews, which he engaged and destroyed, with great slaughter of the crews.

After this victory he sailed to Costek, whence came out to meet him Amir Aieb Xamçadin, a captain of his own, who had come from Old Harmuz with a considerable reinforcement for his expedition. Thence he sailed for Harmuz, or Gerun, and anchored off Karu, a beach of that isle,[3] on which he landed and took possession of it by force of arms. When his nephews saw that they were ruined, and could neither fight nor fly, they used influential mediators and put themselves in their uncle's hands, asking only that some convenient arrangement might be made for their living. The king agreed to this, and gave them the Isle of Barhen for a residence for themselves and their dependents.

With Kodbadin's return matters were greatly mended in Gerun, which had been in great misery and vexation under the rule of the brothers. The peace was kept, and justice administered; and the price of provisions, till then scarce and dear, went down. Those who had been banished by order of the tyrants, or had fled for fear of them, were reinstated in their houses and property.

Meanwhile, the brothers Xambé and Xady had gone to Barhen, and once there—for they could not be quiet—set about raising men and ships to invade Harmuz. King Kodbadin, when he knew of this, embarked and went against them, with all the force he could muster.[4] On arrival at Keys, where Xady then was, he

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[1] These, of course, were only ceremonial. It does not appear where Nizámúddín was buried, but it certainly was not at Kalhát.

[2] Jaguin, or Jegín, is still on our maps, a few miles east of Jask.

[3] See note on p. 170, *supra*.—D. F.

[4] Ibn Batúta, who calls the Sultan of Hormuz Kuṭbúddín Tamahtan (Tahemtan), son of Ṭúrán Sháh," and describes him as an old man, dirtily clad, but very pious, says: "When we entered his island, we found him prepared for war, in which he was engaged against the two sons of his brother, Nizámúddín. Every night he made ready for battle, although scarcity reigned in the isle. His wazir, Shamsúddín Muhammad, son of 'Áli, his kádi, Imádúddín Achchewankári, and

landed his men, but met with some resistance, and the matter promised to be tedious. The men of the island were now hard pressed, and the king's men impatient that these held out so long. Some of the men, thinking to make an end of the business, offered battle, without orders, to Xady. He, seeing his advantage, accepted it, and beat the Harmuzis with great slaughter. The king, with the remnant, embarked in disorder, and at once made sail for Harmuz.

When the king got his forces into proper order again, he returned to the attack on Keys. Xady, who thought it not safe to await him there, went over to Barhen, where his brother Xambe was. The king came to Keys, took it easily enough, and allowed his soldiers the sack of it. Then, leaving a strong garrison, he returned to Harmuz, meaning presently to go against his nephews in Barhen. But they, seeing that he was gone, raised what forces they could, and led them against Keys, thinking to recover it.

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many distinguished men, came to visit us, and excused themselves on account of the occupations in which the war involved them. We passed sixteen days amongst them." After describing his interviews with the king, and his sister's son, 'Ali Sháh, son of Jalálúddín Alkíji, the traveller says: "This is the motive of the war that existed between the Sultan and his two nephews. The former embarked one day on the sea, at the new city, to go on a pleasure trip to Old Hormuz and its gardens. The distance that separates these two cities by sea is three parasangs, as we have said above. The Sultan's brother, Nizámúddín, revolted against him, and arrogated to himself the power. The inhabitants of the island took the oath of allegiance to him, as also the troops. Kutbúddín entertained fears for his safety, and embarked for the town of Kalhát, of which I have spoken above, and which forms part of his dominions. He stayed there several months, equipped vessels, and set sail towards the island. The inhabitants of the latter engaged him, in concert with his brother, and obliged him to flee to Kalhát. He renewed the same attempt on many occasions; but he had no success until he had recourse to the stratagem of sending to one of the wives of his brother an emissary, who persuaded her to poison him. The usurper being dead, the Sultan proceeded once more against the island, and made his entry into it. His two nephews fled, with the treasures, the goods, and the troops, to the island of Kaïs, where are the pearl fisheries [*sic*]. From this place they set themselves to intercept the road to those of the inhabitants of India and Sind who were going towards the island, and to make incursions into the districts of the littoral, so that the greater part were devastated" (*op. cit.*, tom. ii, p. 233 *et seq.*). The above, it will be seen, agrees to a great extent with Teixeira's version; and, if we could rely on the dates he gives, Ibn Batúta's visit must have taken place in 1346 or 1347. But, a little later, the traveller says that he left Yáman for Mecca in A.H. 732, *i.e.*, A.D. 1332. It is true that he visited Hormuz some years later (on his way home from China), apparently, from his own statement, in A.D. 1347; but of his three days' stay there on this second occasion he gives no details (*op. cit.*, tom. iv, p. 311).—D. F.

However, when they were half way across, most of their captains and soldiers deserted them, and went over to the king. Amongst these were Xamcadin Mamud,[1] Kamaladin Ismael, and Naceradin Moceleh, all chiefs of note. These, passing by Keys, warned the king's governor, Mir Tagáh, of the coming of the brothers.

Sailing next to Lapht, in the Isle of Broct or Queixome, where Mir Sabekadin was in garrison, they took him on with them to Harmuz; lest he, with his weak force, should be suddenly attacked by the brothers, and come to some misfortune.

Xambé and Xady would not give up their enterprise for the desertion of their captains and soldiers. But, sailing past Keys, where they were not allowed into port, they came to Lapht.

The king, forewarned of their arrival, had sent his forces into Broct, who encamped at Dargahon, near to Lapht,[2] where the brothers heard of their arrival, and determined to attack them. So they stood to arms through the night, and fell on at break of day. But the king's men beat them off handsomely;[3] and as they had attacked by sea and by land, so on both were they broken, and retired to Barhen with no light loss. When they had landed on that isle, the brothers were at discord, for each laid their ill-success at the other's door. And the matter went so far that Xady threw Xambé into prison, and would have slain him; but their mother hindered him, and had Xambé released.

He, once free, left Barhen, and went to the Persian mainland, and settled near Xyraz, in a village called Fal.[4] This is the place of origin of all the wazirs and ruling men of the kingdom of Harmuz, Reizes, Xarafos, Noradins, and Bradadins.[5] The governor of Xiráz heard of Xambé's being in Fal, and who he was; invited

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[1] This can hardly be the man described by Ibn Batúta as Kuṭbúd-dín's wazir (see note *supra*).—D. F.

[2] Laft and Darguwán still keep their places on our chart. They are ports of the Isle of Kishm, on Clarence Strait.

[3] "*Gallardamente.*"

[4] I cannot find on the maps any place of this name near Shiráz, but there is a Falman a little to the north-east of that town. Johnson's *Persian Dictionary*, however, has "Fāl, name of a place in Persia." —D. F.

[5] This I take to mean that the kings of Harmuz chose most of their higher servants out of a clan or family of Persian khwájas, originally resident in Fal, and keeping up a connection with that place. "Reizes," as we say "Raises," are rulers of almost any sort or size. "Xarafos" were probably treasurers. The two last words seem to represent "Nur-úd-dín" and "Burhán-úd-dín," which are often personal names. I suspect them to have been, in this case, names of religious or legal dignitaries. ["Bradadin" (cf. *supra*, p. 166) more probably represents Badr-úd-dín.—D. F.] "Ayzadin Gordonxá," the sixteenth king, may probably have been of this family by one side.

him to his presence, and used him very honourably and liberally, for the sake of an old friendship with his family.

Meanwhile, the summer came on, and the king Xá Kodbadin chose to pass it in Nakelstam, a district of Mogostam on the Persian mainland, cool and full of good water and fruit, which are not in Harmuz. So he and his court went there, and a few days later he fell sick and died, in the year of the Hyxara 747, and A.D. 1347.

Turon Xá, son of Xa Kodbadin, succeeded to the kingdom of Harmuz by the death of his father.[1] He it was who wrote in Persian the lives and doings of the kings that went before him, in prose and verse: not briefly, as I do, but in a great volume, whence I have extracted this short narrative. He was a good king, beloved and much honoured by his people. On his accession he sent, as governor to the Isle of Keys, one Mamud Homer, a man of courage and experience. Xady, who was in Barhen, though knowing him for a good captain, yet desisted not from his design of invading Keys. When he got there, after some skirmishes and small success, he bargained secretly with a kinsman of Mamud Homer's for his betrayal at the first opportunity. This agreed on, Xady made pretence of a wish for some reasonable peace, and desired an interview. Mamud Homer agreed too easily and trustfully, and the meeting took place. Xady, who came well knowing what to do, managed to separate Mamud from his followers, captured him when defenceless, and deprived him of his eyes—or rather, of sight.

This was a common practice, before and since that time, of the kings of Persia and of Harmuz, when they would assure themselves against those whom they might fear, who were commonly their own kindred. At this day there are seen in Harmuz, on a hill near the Hermitage of Santa Lucia,[2] rather over a mile from the city, the ruins of certain towers, wherein the kings used to keep relatives so blinded. The method was this: they took a brass basin, as hot as fire could make it, and passed it several times before the victim's eyes. And so, without any other in-

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[1] Barros and Couto (*u. s.*) state that "Ceifadin" or "Ceifadixá" was succeeded by his younger brother "Torunxá," whose reign lasted thirty years. Castanheda (Liv. II, cap. lix) speaks of this king as "Tuxura" (for "Turuxa"), but says nothing of the length of his reign. None of these writers mentions the fact of this king's being the historian of Hormuz. The Dominican translator (see Appendix D, *infra*) calls the royal historian "Pachaturunxa," and, by a curious slip, credits him with having reigned "*three hundred* years, a little more or less"!—D. F.

[2] See the plan of Hormuz in Astley's *Collection*, *u. s.*, and Nieuhof's *Travels*, *op. cit.*, p. 232.—D. F.

jury, the sight was destroyed by the effect of the fire on the optic nerves, the eyes remaining as clear and bright as before.[1]

After the blinding of Mamud Homer, Xady remained master of the Isle of Keys. The news came to Turonxá, who at once sailed in search of him. Xady had early advice of this, and wanted to fly from the isle, but could not, so close was the blockade. But it was winter, and though the king's men kept good watch by sea, it was not so strict but that Xady managed to get away, one very cloudy night, in a light *tarranquin*,[2] to Lapht, in the island of Queixome. The king, who had early news of this, pursued him, and anchored at Dargahon, near Lapht. Xady's companions heard of it, left him to himself, and betook themselves to the king. He, finding himself deserted, went at once aboard the *tarranquy*, and sailed for Barhen with such expedition that, although the king without delay sent vessels in chase of him, they did not catch him.

Xady, when he reached Barhen, soon died of pure despite,[3] leaving a son, a minor, to whom King Turonxá gave his father's office. But Xambé, the deceased Xady's brother, whose flight to Xyraz we have mentioned, having heard of his brother's death, betook himself in all haste to Barhen. Here he found the state of affairs in his favour,[4] and took cruel vengeance on all who had taken sides against him in his former disputes with Xady, his brother. Many of these he slew, not sparing even the child, his nephew; and many fled in terror from the isle.

But there was one Mir Ageb, a chief, who ill endured such tyranny and insolence; and he, with the help of his own family and some other followers, stormed and sacked Xambé's house, and slew Xambé himself. He had lately confined one Aly Mahamed Palaon,[5] a captain of importance, who was now presently set free. Mir Ageb proposed, with this man's support, to usurp the lordship of the isle. He would not give it, but passed over to the mainland of Arabia, to the fortress of Katifa, taking

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[1] The above passage is quoted by Lord Stanley of Alderley in a footnote on p. 45 of his translation of Barbosa, who mentions this custom. See also Varthema, p. 96; Linschoten, vol. i, p. 46 and note; Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 242 and note; *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. iv, p. 179.—D. F.

[2] See note on p. 159, *supra*.—D. F.

[3] "*De pura passion.*" I have some authority for the rendering: "Gwenwynwyn fell sick with alarm and *despite*; Died, and went to the Devil, the very same night" (Peacock, *Crochet Castle*). At any rate, I like using hard words about "Xady," who is no favourite of mine.

[4] "*Cosas dispuestas.*"

[5] "Palaon" probably represents "Pahlwán," meaning, in its highest sense, "a hero," though often applied to a mere athlete or wrestler.

with him another captain, an Arab of the tribe of Ben Izafaf, called Xeque Hamed Raxet.

Xeque Maged was then captain of Katifa, and Palaon begged troops of him, wherewith to make head against Mir Ageb. But Maged, suspecting that they wanted to take Barhen themselves, not only refused their request, but seized them, gave them in charge of a captain named Aly Maxady, and sent them, with all due care, to Harmuz, to Turonxá. He, when informed of what had happened, sailed for Barhen, taking them with him. On his arrival, Mir Ageb asked him for the lordship of the isle, in reward for his alleged service rendered in the killing of Xambé. The king refused it, and thought rather of punishing him. Ageb, hearing this, left Manama, the chief port of the isle, and took refuge in another on the further side of it,[1] called Thiar. Here the king's men sought him out and took him to their master, who had his head cut off. The two prisoners he set free and rewarded, as he found that their arrest was undeserved.

When the affairs of Barhen were settled, Turonxá wished to see Katifa, which lies on the shore of the Arabian mainland over against that isle, divided from it by a narrow sound. He went there with his people, and was well received and served by Xeque Maged. When he had seen the land, and taken a few days' pleasure in it, he returned to Barhen, and thence to Gerun, or Harmuz.

To this point our authority is Turonxá himself,[2] who had peace for the rest of his days, and died, after a reign of thirty years, in the year of the Hyxára 779, A.D. 1378.[3]

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[1] "*A las espaldas*," meaning probably in the south of the island as Manama is at the northern end.

[2] We miss Thurán Shah at once. After his death in 1378, we have not a date until Albuquerque's invasion in 1507. During this period, we are told, five kings, of only two generations, were busy doing nothing, which seems unlikely in every way. The matter-of-fact style of this fragment must be Teixeira's, but its reliability must be Thurán Shah's; and if any critic thinks his statements unreliable, he has only to study the modern history of Máskat and Zanzibar for a parallel.

[3] From the statements that follow, it is clear that the death of Ṭúrán Sháh must here be antedated by nearly a century (the preceding dates being thereby affected), or else the names of some of his successors must have been omitted. The latter seems the more probable. Abd-er-Razzák, who spent two months in Hormuz in the early part of 1442, calls the "prince" of the island "Melik-Fakr-Eddin-Touranschah" (Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Soc., p. 5). Now, as this cannot possibly have been the historian king (presuming that the dates given above for his reign be correct), we may well assume that it was this Fakhr al-Dín Ṭúrán Sháh, and not the royal chronicler, who was the father of the four sons whose reigns are recorded below. Unfortunately, we have no means of ascertaining the length of this king's rule; but if his son "Massud"

Turonxá's sons succeeded him in the kingdom of Harmuz, in order as follows: First, Massud, the eldest, who possessed it in peace all his life. Then Xabadin,[1] the second son, in whose time were some unimportant disturbances, soon settled. The third son was Salgor Xá,[2] in whose time arose in Persia the Suphy Hhalila, of whom we have spoken in the narrative of the Kings of Persia.[3] He possessed all that country, and overran it as far as

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reigned ten years, and was succeeded by his brother "Xabadin" in 1465 (as suggested in the note *infra*), the close of Fakhr al-Dín Túrán Sháh's reign would fall in 1455, which cannot be very far out.—D. F.

[1] It must have been during this man's reign that Josafa Barbaro, the Venetian, visited Hormuz; for he says "The Lorde" of the island "is called Sultan Sabadin;" he also states that "Ormuos" "yeldeth tribute to the King Assambei" (*Travels in Tana and Persia*, Hakluyt Soc., p. 79). Now, as "Assambei" (Uzun Hasan Bey Ak-Koyunlú), the Turkmán ruler of Persia, died in 1478, it is evident that Barbaro's visit took place *circa* 1475. If "Xabadin" reigned eleven years, as Barros asserts (see *infra*), we may fix his reign at about 1465-1476. But it is plain that the figures given by Barros cannot be relied on as entirely accurate.—D. F.

[2] Barros (*u. s.*) says that at his death "Torunxá left these sons, Magdçud, Xabadim, Sargol, and Xavez, and all reigned, each in default of sons of the others: the first ten years, the second eleven, the third one year and a half" (*sic*). Couto (*u. s.*), more intelligibly, says that "Torunxá" left "four sons, Magcudxá, Xabadi, Xargol, and Xaués, all of whom reigned by violence, except the eldest Magcudxa, who reigned ten years, Xabadi eleven, and Xaués, who was the last, one year and a half; as Xargol, who was the elder, had fled to Lasac, because his brother rose against him, and took the kingdom from him; and from there, with the help of that king, came against his brother, and dethroned him, remaining as king, in which position he lived thirty years." Barros gives full details of the doings of "Xargol," who, he says, was governor of Kalhát when his younger brother usurped the throne; whereupon he fled to "Lasah," and later, with the assistance of "Raez Nordim" and "Raez Camal" of "Xilau," succeeded in defeating "Xaués," whom he promptly blinded. Castanheda (Liv. II, cap. lix) has a similar account, but confused and erroneous in details. He names only "Corgol," and says he was the eldest son of "Tuxura."—D. F.

[3] In his *Kings of Persia*, Bk. I, chap. xiv (cf. Appendix B *infra*), Teixeira, after explaining how Shaikh Haidar and Shaikh Ismaíl came to be called "Suffí," adds: "A little before him had risen up in Persia Hhalila, whom for the same reason they called Sufy Hhalila." Again, in Bk. II, chap. lvii, in describing the reign of "Baysangor Mirzáh" (A.D. 1492-1493), our author says that the king, "being young, was under the tutelage and governance of Sufy Kalil Musulú, one of his captains;" and goes on to describe various battles in which "Sufy Kalil" commanded the king's troops, and his defeat and death in 1493. I am doubtful if the same person is referred to in these two passages; and it is curious that in the first passage Teixeira states that the Suffí rose up "a little before" the time of Sháh Ismaíl, while

the shore opposite Gerun, or Harmuz, and was very desirous to pass over to it, but could not for want of vessels.

It is said that, in his mad rage, he wanted to level the mountains to fill up the sea. And there is a story that Salgor, who knew of Hhalila's trouble and fury, went about the isle and city, singing at the top of his voice some Persian verses :—

"Dele Duzman bara man Kabab hast,
Ke aguerd Aguerd man dariah hast."

Which is as much as to say :—

"Mine enemy's heart is hot within him, because he sees me girt about by the sea." [1]

In the end, Sophy Hhalila went away without doing any harm but on the mainland, where the kings of Harmuz had possessions, and have yet, though not with the free sovereignty of old times. They hold the Gulf coast for seventy leagues, and all the territories for twenty-eight leagues landwards. In their dominions are the Amadizes and Gaules, warlike and formidable tribes.[2] But I know not if hence sprang the tale of Amadis of Gaul.[3] For these territories the kings of Harmuz pay to the King of Persia a certain tribute, called *mokararias*, because they are not let run into arrear, as sometimes happens with tributes.[4] It should be noted

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here he emphasises the fact that "Sophy Hhalila . . . . . lived long before Ismael Sophy." The first of the two statements appears to be the correct one.—D. F.

[1] The Persian distich is in Teixeira's phrase and spelling (though both be open to question), and the rendering as close as English can be got to Castilian. A somewhat macaronic translation would run : "My foeman's heart is *broiled* for me, Who stand encircled by the sea." The point or joke lies in comparing the enemy's heart to the funny (and excellent) little bits of broiled goat which are "common objects" of most Eastern cities, and which we usually call "kaybobs." So the late Prince Bismarck is said to have condemned his foes to "simmer in their own juice." But Salgor Sháh had the start of him.

[2] Couto (*Dec. X*, Liv. II, cap. xi) describes the "Amadizes" as "a tribe that live in Magostão, brave and determined men." In two letters, of 13th February, 1610, and 15th March, 1611 (printed in *Doc. Rem.*), the King of Spain, writing to the Viceroy of India regarding the proposed re-capture of Bahrein, refers to "the Amadazes of Catifá, who were always loyal to my service," as prepared to assist in the enterprise. Of the "Gaules" I can find no mention elsewhere. —D. F.

[3] A not very obvious joke. But the Spanish world was alive with the lately published *Don Quixote* when this was written.

[4] The passage is obscure ; but *makarar* = "fixed" in Arabic, and is applied, in Indian revenue business, as here translated. [Couto (*Dec. V*, Liv. X, cap. iii) explains "*mocarrarias*" as certain sums paid annually by the King of Hormuz to the rulers of Persia and other countries of the continent as far as "Moscovia," to ensure safe transit

that this Sophy Hhalila, whom we have mentioned, lived long before Ismael Sophy, who was King of Persia when the Portuguese went to Harmuz. Salgor had no other war of importance to wage, and ended his reign in peace.

On Salgór's death, Xawes[1] succeeded him in the kingdom, which throve greatly in his days, enjoying peace. He had no trouble in all his reign, and left the kingdom to his brother, Seyfadin.[2]

Seyfadin, on the decease of Xawés, inherited the throne of Harmuz; and he was king in A.D. 1507, when the Portuguese, under Alfonso de Albuquerque, took possession of that kingdom,[3] which they hold to this day.[4] And though it was won and

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of merchants and goods through their territories (blackmail, in fact). Several royal letters in *Doc. Rem.*, tom. i, refer to these "*mocarrarias*," which are there explained as "a certain pension that was paid from the customs [at Hormuz] to the kings of Lara for franking the *cafilas*." The word *mukarrari*, meaning a fixed rent or revenue, is still in use in India (see Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial Terms*, and Whitworth's *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, *s. v.*).—D. F.]

[1] *Sic in orig.*, with the unusual "w." The name represented is probably Sháh Wais. His relation to Salgor is not stated.

[2] As will be seen by the note above, these statements differ entirely from those of Barros and Couto, who say that on the death of "Xabadim" (who, Barros states, was murdered by some Abyssinian slaves in the island of Kishm) his youngest brother, "Xavez" or "Xaués," was, in the absence of "Xargol," raised to the throne; from which he was ousted by the latter after a reign of only a year and a-half, "Xargol" then reigning thirty years. Both these writers, moreover, state that "Ceifadim" was the *son* of "Xavez." The statements of Castanheda (*u. s.*) are here again evidently erroneous.—D. F.

[3] Barros (*u. s.*) says that on the death of "Xargol," who left no son, "they chose as king Ceifadim, a son of his brother Xavez, who was a youth of twelve years at the time that Affonso d'Alboquerque came there" (that is, in 1507). On the other hand, Couto (*u. s.*), after giving the details quoted in a previous note regarding "Xargol," continues: "The latter was reigning when Affonso de Alboquerque, being captain-major of that Strait, arrived at Ormuz in the year 1507. This king died without leaving sons, and the people chose as king Ceifadim, son of Xaués (the one whom his brother dethroned), who was then a youth of ten years. The latter was reigning when Affonso de Alboquerque, being Governor of India, in the year 1514 took that kingdom, and made him a vassal to the King of Portugal." Here Couto seems to be in error (cf. *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. i, p. 127). Castanheda, in describing the first visit of the Portuguese to Hormuz, does not give the king's name, but says (Liv. II, cap. lix) that he was sixteen years old at the time of his accession. Later on (Liv. v, cap. lxxxviii) he calls this king "Raix Çafardim." Correa (tom. i, p. 836, etc.) calls him "Çafardim." In the *Comment. of Af. Dalb.* he is called "Ceifadin," and is said (vol. iv, p. 109) to have died by poison.—D. F.

[4] *I.e.*, 1608 or 1609. A few years later, however (in 1622), the island

is held by better right than some other kingdoms in the world, yet our kings, with Christian scrupulosity, do not fail to maintain undisputed therein the legitimate succession of the native kings to this very day. And the sons succeed their fathers as of old, but with this difference: that, whereas they once enjoyed free and independent sovereignty, they now hold under written grant of our Lord the King, whereby he allows of their succession in that kingdom.

There rule is not[1] absolute, except in respect of the Moors, their subjects, and even in that case there are limits to it. They cannot leave the isle without permission of the Portuguese captain, who used to grant it in former years, but does not now let them go.

Now all that happened since in that kingdom has been written at large, not only in the Commentaries of Alfonso de Albuquerque,[2] but in the second book of the Second Decade of Iuan de Bayrros.[3] So I do not undertake it.[4] But if any inquirer, finding himself at Harmuz, should wish to ask about the deeds of Alfonso de Albuquerque (which indeed were and are worthy of perpetual memory), let him ask the Moors about Malandy. For they know him by no other name, and use that when they mention his transactions.[5] This puzzled me for awhile, until I understood that he had that name because he sailed thither from Melinde, which they call Maland, and a man or thing coming thence Malandy. Herewith I hope that the friendly reader will be content, making allowance for my deficiencies.

END OF THE KINGS OF HORMUZ.

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was captured from the Portuguese by a combined Persian and English force, and the glory of Hormuz came to an end (see *L'Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa*, p. 457 *et seq.*; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. ii, p. 1787 *et seq.*; Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, 1677, p. 109 *et seq.*; *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., East Indies, etc.*, 1622-1624, *passim*, and Preface, pp. lxv-lxix; Capt. Stiffe's paper in *Geog. Mag.*, April 1874, pp. 15, 16; Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 362; Yule's art. "Ormus," in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xvii; Burton's *Camoens: Life and Lusiads*, vol. iv, p. 508).—D. F.

[1] "*Nos*," a misprint.

[2] The first edition of which appeared in 1576 (see Hakluyt Soc. trans., vol. i, Introduction, p. iv).—D. F.

[3] Cf. Teixeira's introductory note to the reader, *supra*, after Introduction.—D. F.

[4] For the later history of Hormuz, see, in addition to the works mentioned by Teixeira, Barros's *Dec. III*, Couto's *Decs. IV-XII*, Bocarro's so-called *Dec. XIII*, and *Doc. Rem.*, tom. i-iv.—D. F.

[5] I have found no confirmation of this statement; and the explanation that follows seems rather far-fetched.—D. F.

[Though after the capture of Hormuz by the Portuguese its "kings" became mere puppets in their hands, it may be useful to give the names of those who bore nominal rule, until the final ejection of the Portuguese by the Persians in 1622. According to Couto (*Dec. V*, Liv. IX, cap. x), "Ceifadim reigned ten years, and was succeeded by his brother Torunxá, who reigned nine years." It was in 1515, apparently, that this change of rulers took place; and Correa (tom. ii, p. 420), who calls the new king "Turuxa," says he was then twenty-two years of age, and that his mother was an Abyssinian. The *Comment. of Af. Dalb.* (vol. iv, p. 109) calls him "Terunxa." According to Barros (*Dec. III*, Liv. VII, cap. v), Castanheda (Liv. v, cap. lxxxviii), and Correa (tom. ii, p. 699), this "king" was poisoned by his wazir, who substituted in his place "a youth of some thirteen years, by name Mahamud Xá, son of the late King Ceifadim" (Barros: Castanheda calls him "Patxá Mahmetxá"). This took place in the early part of 1522. Couto (*u. s.*) simply says that to "Torunxá" succeeded "Mahamed Xá, who reigned nine years, and was son of Ceifadim." (The *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. iv, pp. 174, 190, speaks of two sons of "Ceifadin," who in 1515 were boys of eight or nine.) In 1532 a brother of the king's, a youth of eighteen, named "Rayx Ale" or "Rexealle," was deported to Goa on an accusation of plotting to poison Muhammad Sháh (Castanheda, Liv. VIII, cap. xlix; Correa, tom. iii, p. 460). The latter died in 1534, and in his place the Portuguese captains at Hormuz elected a son of his, only eight years of age. He, however, was poisoned soon after by order of his uncle at Goa, "Rayx Ale," who, being the next heir, succeeded to the throne (Castanheda, Liv. VIII, cap. lxxvi). But in 1541 the latter was again deported to Goa on charges of madness and drunkenness (Correa, tom. iv, pp. 160, 210, 270, ff.); but two years later he was restored to his position (Correa, tom. iv, p. 338). He did not long survive, however. Couto (*u. s.*) says that on the death of "Ceifadim" there succeeded "Xargol Xá, son of Torunxá, who was the one that Nuno da Cunha ordered to be deported from Ormuz to avoid divisions in the kingdom, and kept him in Cochin, where he had a son named Torunxá, by an Abyssinian mother named Bibigazelá, because they say she had eyes like a gazelle's. This Xargol was afterwards sent by Nuno da Cunha to succeed to the throne, on his receiving news of the death of King Ceifadim. . . . . He died in the past November of 1543," by poison, says Correa (tom. iv, p. 399). His son, "Torunxá," a boy of twelve, was sent from Goa to succeed him (Couto, *u. s.*; Correa, *u. s.*), and arrived in Hormuz in March 1544 (Couto, *Dec. V*, Liv. X, cap. iii). Owing to the loss of Couto's Eighth, Ninth, and Eleventh *Decades*, the dates of the accessions of the succeeding rulers are somewhat difficult to ascertain. In *Dec. VII*, Liv. X, cap. vii, Couto states that the two princes deported by Nuno da Cunha (as mentioned above) were the father of "Torunxa" and the latter's uncle, "Babuxa," the last of whom married in Goa a Moor woman of Dabul, by whom he had a son, "Ferragoxa." After an exile of "nearly forty years" (really thirty-three), and being ninety years old and decrepit, "Babuxa," wishing to lay his bones in his native island, obtained leave to accompany D. Pedro de Sousa, who was going thither as captain in 1562, and to take his son "Ferragoxa" with him. From what Couto says, it is evident that soon afterwards (probably in 1563) "Turuxa" died, after a reign of nearly twenty years, and the aged "Babuxa" was elected to succeed him. Naturally, at such an

advanced age his reign could not be a long one; and in 1564 or 1565, on his death, his son, "Ferragoxa," succeeded to the throne. Cesare Federici was present at the ceremony, which he describes (*Voyage and Trauaile of M. C. Fredericke*, p. 4). In the *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. 5, p. 693, is an *alvará*, dated 18th March, 1569, granting to King "Faragoxá" the rights accorded to "Turuxá;" and on pp. 758-760 of the same fasciculus is another *alvará*, dated 10th February, 1571, embodying the translation of a farmán of 8th April, 1565, issued by "Faroquoxá," who refers to his father "Mamuxá" and cousin "Turuxá." This "Faragoxá" reigned for many years. Gasparo Balbi, who visited Hormuz in 1580, gives the name of the king as "Siafirusia Gielaledi" (*Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali*, p. 47). Teixeira refers to him as "Ferragut Xá" and "Ferrogotxa" (see *supra*, p. 166, and *infra*, Appendix B). Couto, in *Dec. XII*, Liv. II, cap. i, tells us that at the beginning of 1598 "Ferugoxa," being old and decrepit, wished to abdicate in favour of his second son, "Mamedexa," whose mother was a sister of the wazir. This, however, was not permitted by the Viceroy in Council, and the old king was informed that he must allow his elder son "Feruxa" to reign in his stead, and that he was to try and arrange a marriage between this son and a daughter of the wazir. The second part of this *Decade* never having been written, we learn no more of this matter; but from royal letters to the Viceroys of India, printed in *Doc. Rem.*, tom. i (pp. 16, 53, 382), it would appear that the old king continued to govern until his death, apparently at the end of 1601, when "Mir Firruxa" was appointed to succeed him. One of those letters (p. 382) informs us of the death of "Ferruxá" in February, 1609, and the elevation to the throne of a brother of his, who, we learn from later letters in tom. ii (pp. 388, etc.), was named "Mamede Xá," evidently the same as the one referred to by Couto above. From this and other letters (tom. i, pp. 14, 53, 80, 365; tom. ii, pp. 38, 148, 406), however, it seems that, on the death of "Farracoxá" and the proclamation as his successor of "Mir Firruxá," the right of the latter to the throne was challenged by his younger brother "Mirturuxá" (called also "Turruxá"), on the grounds that he was a bastard, and that his father, when he married the daughter of "Raix Nordim," had executed a deed whereby he constituted their eldest son his heir. This "Turruxá," who was residing at Goa, and professed a leaning to Christianity, petitioned the King of Spain, and the matter was referred to the high court; but in 1606 or 1607, during the governorship of the Archbishop D. Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, the prince was convicted of sodomy and burnt at the stake (see Pyrard, vol. ii, pp. 91, 243-244). For some reason, the elevation to the throne of "Mamede Xá" did not meet with the approval of the King of Spain, and he issued a decree granting to the two sons of "Turruxá" authority to prosecute their father's claim to the throne (*Doc. Rem.*, tom. i, pp. 363, 383; tom. ii, pp. 38, 148, 406; *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. 6, p. 841). From a letter in *Doc. Rem.*, vol. ii (p. 360), we find that "Farracoxá" left two other sons by the sister of the wazir "Rais Nordim," their names being given as "Mir Farracoxá" and "Mir Samgolxá;" but they do not appear to have laid any claim to the throne. From other documents, however (*Doc. Rem.*, tom. ii, pp. 381, 406; tom. iii, p. 428; tom. iv, p. 356; *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, fasc. 6, pp. 1119, 1163), it seems that the eldest son of "Farracoxá," who is called "Miramofalisxá" and "Miramofles," had been passed over in the succession, and

he put in a claim to the sovereignty, at the same time bringing serious accusations against the wife of "Mamede Xá" (who was the widow of "Torruxá" and "Ferruxá"), and also against that king himself. (Ant. Gouvea, in his *Relaçam*, Pt. I, p. 9, speaks of a "Dom Hieronymo Joete" as a grandson of "Turuxà" and the rightful heir to the throne, which he had renounced in order to enter the Church. This "Dom Jeronimo" and his father, "Xeque Yoette," "Xeque Joette," or "Coje Zoete," are referred to in several royal letters to the Viceroys of India, printed in *Arch. Port. Or.*, fasc. 3, pp. 172, 212, 482, 586, 678. I cannot identify this man.) All these claims, however, were solved by the termination of the Hormuz dynasty of kings, on the capture of the island in 1622 by the Anglo-Persian force, as stated above. "Mamede Xá" was still "reigning" when that event took place; and in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. ii, p. 1802, will be found the translation of a letter from him to the King of Spain, dated February 12th, 1621, complaining of the misdeeds of the Captain of Hormuz. The King of Hormuz and all his suite were deported to the mainland as captives by the Persians (*L'Ambassade de G. de Silva Figueroa*, p. 470); but in 1624 the king was reported to be "still living at Ormuz" (*Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, etc.*, 1625-1629, p. 60). Whether this were so or not, need not concern us: the "kingdom" of Hormuz had gone for ever.—D. F.]

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from the "Relation of the Kings of Persia."[1]

BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

[In connection with the election of "Kayumarras" as first King of Persia, Teixeira digresses on the subject of the Persian *tage*, or cap. Then, having referred to an error held by "the gentiles of Persia," viz., that Kayumarras was identical with Adam, our author says:—]

IN Persian they call these gentiles[2] by one of three names, Mayucy, Maurigy, or Gaòr Yazdy, whereof the last is most common.

[Then follow remarks concerning cow-worshippers, and explanations of *Gao*, *Gaòr*, etc.]

. . . . . Yazdy means of Yazd, a city in Persia, wherein chiefly survive and dwell those Persians who follow their ancient national religion, and have not yet chosen to receive the creeds either of Mahamed or of Ally.[3] They serve the sun, and fire, which they preserve with great care, so that in more than three thousand five hundred years it has not been extinct for an instant. This is on a mountain one day's march from Yazd, called Albors Kuyh, or Mount Albors, and also Atèx quedah, or "the House of Fire." And there are always many people attending on it.[4]

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[1] As Mr. Sinclair has translated only portions of Teixeira's numerous digressions, I have thought well to note briefly the subjects of those omitted. For the paragraphs within square brackets and in smaller type, therefore, it must be understood that I am responsible.—D. F.

[2] The surviving Zoroastrians of Persia.

[3] That is, either the Sunni or the Shiah form of Islam. The distinction is not very accurate, but Teixeira always uses it. [Cf. *supra*, pp. 47, 51.—D. F.]

[4] Here our author seems to have got well outside of his own observation, and to be ill-informed; the rest of the account of the Zoroastrians is little better than mere Persian gossip—a little malicious. There is now no "Elburj" near Yazd on the maps, though there are several elsewhere. But at about one hundred English miles, south and by east from that city, our maps show a mountain 9,500 ft. high, still called Nar Kuh, or "Fire Mountain" (?), which may be Teixeira's

[From the Zoroastrians' method of disposing of their dead, our author proceeds to describe the practices of the Hindus on the Ganges, the Japanese, the Indians on the Malabar coast, and the inhabitants of certain islands between the Nicobars and Tenasserim.]

CHAPTERS II-V.

[In Chapter II Teixeira discourses on the burning of the dead; and in this connection describes (not from personal observation, apparently) the human holocaust that followed the death of the Náyak of Madura, which event took place while our author was in India. This must, I think, have been Krishnappa, who died in 1595, or possibly Višvanátha II, whose death seems to have occurred a little earlier (see Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 61).

Chapters III and IV are both very short, and contain no digressions.

Chapter V has some interjected remarks on the Persian and Arab names for the Devil; also a brief reference to the province of Aderbaion, and its capital, Tabriz.]

CHAPTER VI.

[After referring to the antiquity of wine, and the universality of its use, our author proceeds :—]

In Persia there is much good wine made of grapes, called *xaràb*. The Persians use it immoderately, and smuggle much of it in bottles, packed in cases under the name of rose-water, to Lahor, in the Grand Mogol's country. In Harmuz and Mogostam, and on all the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, there are two liquors made. The first is distilled chiefly of dates and liquorice leaves.[1] It is called *arequy*, from *areca*, a Persian word meaning sweat, and used to imply its high quality. This is the strongest and most dreadful drink that ever was invented, for all which it finds some notable drinkers.[2]

The second is made by infusion of dried grapes in cold water, in proper proportion, which ferments of itself, and is fit for use

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"Atèx quedah." His translation is correct. *Burj* is a tower or any lofty building like one, stouter than a *minár*. [On "Albors" and its fire-temple, see Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 197.—D. F.]

[1] *Hojas de regalis*, probably meaning the *roots*.

[2] *Arak* is Arabic for sweat, and has become a common name throughout the East for distilled spirits in general. In English we have it in "arrack" and "rack punch," as we have *sharáb* in "rum shrub."

when it has settled down. It is thought very good and wholesome, and I have seen it in use in Syria.

In India wine is made of the substance of the tree which bears the *cocos*, called palm, because it is like the true palm,[1] and it is of two sorts. *Sura* is that kind which is got raw, dropping of itself into vessels set to receive it. The other, called *araca*,[2] is distilled by fire from this *sura*, and is very strong. Into this they throw dried grapes, which takes off its roughness and sweetens it; and it improves with age, which is not the case with that made of dried grapes and water.[3]

Other wine is made of another palm called *nipa*[4] growing in watery places. This is distilled like the last, but is softer and sweeter, transparent as pure water, and said to be very wholesome. A great deal of it is made and shipped in Pegú, Tanasarim, Malaca, and the Phelipines or Manilla. That of Tanasarim is much the best of all.[5]

In Orracam and Pegú there is made of rotten[6] rice a certain drink called *pamplis*. This is also used in Manilla and in China,[7] where they have many sorts of wines, but none made of grapes. The best is that made of *lechyas*, a fruit very like that of the *Arbutus*,[8] but larger. This is distinguished as "mandarin's wine," from the common term for the magistrates of China.

In Cafraria, the land of the negros about Mozambique, wine is made of millet, and called *huyenbe*, or *pembe*.[9] In Bengal, that

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[1] Date-palm. The date-tree itself and many other palms yield sweet saps (toddy), which are fermented and sometimes distilled.

[2] *Arak*, *vide supra*, p. 197, note. The *sura* is "fresh toddy."

[3] With the foregoing compare Garcia de Orta, *Colloquios*, f. 67; Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 49.—D. F.

[4] *Nipa fruticans* of our botanists, who now separate it from the true palms, which it superficially resembles. It grows in tidal waters, from Bengal eastwards, and still produces toddy. [See p. 8, *supra*.—D. F.]

[5] Cf. Linschoten, vol. i, p. 103; vol. ii, p. 49.—D. F.

[6] *Arros podre*, probably meaning only that it was fermented. *Orracam* has here nothing to do with *arak*, but represents our modern province of Arakan.

[7] I cannot trace the word "*pamplis*." Rice wine and rice spirit are in common use throughout a great part of Eastern Asia, under a variety of names.—D. F.

[8] *Arbutus unedo*, Sp. *madroño*. A wine or spirit is said to be made of this fruit too, in the Mediterranean, which may have suggested the comparison. *Lechyas* are *líchís*, an excellent fruit of Bengal, and the tropical regions eastward; not good in Western India (*Nephelium Litchi*, nat. ord. *Sapindaceæ*).

[9] Probably the *pombe* of modern travellers, which seems to be a sort of beer.

is, the lands watered by the Ganges, there is made another sort of wine of rice, called *modo*.[1]

In Mexico wine is made of *maguey*,[2] a plant much like the slimy plant which produces the aloe or *azivar*, but greater and coarser; and other Indians[3] make it of the *yuca*.

In fine, the wines and drinks of various nations are almost countless. And besides these they use other things: the failure of which, by reason of their long use and wont, would come very hard upon them.[4] A case in point is the *betle*,[5] used through all the East, and known by that name in Malabar, but in Canary and Guzarate as *pam*. In Persian and Arabic it is called *tambul*, in Malay *siri*, and in Manilla *buyo*.[6] The leaf is well known, and not unlike that of a plantain.[7]

This they chew, with a fruit called *areca*,[8] and in Persian and Arabic *fufel*, and a little mild lime made of oyster-shells. It is in the common use, day and night, of all sorts of men, from princes to poor sailors. It is served to welcome the coming

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[1] In all the Aryan dialects of India, some form of the Sanskrit *mada*=intoxicant, spirituous liquor, is found.—D. F.

[2] The *maguey* is *Agave Americana*, of the order *Amaryllideæ*. The genus is American, but the Portuguese and Spaniards have carried it round the world in the warm regions, and it is generally known in English by the name of "aloe." The true aloes, as Teixeira says, are smaller and slimy, and *herva babosa* is a Portuguese name for them even now. The fermented juice of *Agave Americana* is "*pulque, liquor divino. Los angeles lo beben en el sereno*" (!), and there is a spirit distilled from this.

[3] These "Indians" were probably American, as is the *yucca*. It is now cultivated in all warm countries, and I have seen it in bloom in the open air in the county Donegal. Natural order, *Liliaceæ*.

[4] "*Seria muy doñosa*," for "*dañosa*," an odd misprint.

[5] Cf. what follows with Garcia de Orta's *Colloquio*, "*Do Betre*," and Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 62, *et seq*. "Canary" is of course Kanara.—D.F.

[6] The names for betel mentioned by Teixeira are, respectively: Malayalam *vettila*, Hindustani *pán*, Persian-Arabic *tambúl*, from Sanskrit *támbúla* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. vv.* "Betel," "Pawn," "Tembool"), Malay *sirih* (which name the Dutch have adopted), and Tagal *buyo* (see Noceda and Sanlucar's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, *s. v.*; also Morga's *Philippine Islands*, Hak. Soc. ed., p. 280). The first four names are given by Garcia de Orta (*u. s.*); the last Teixeira doubtless picked up on his visit to Manila in 1600 (see *supra*, p. 6).—D. F.

[7] *Plantago major*, the common European plantain, whose leaf has a sort of superficial resemblance to that of *Piper betle*, the betel-leaf vine.

[8] *Areca catechu*, the betel-nut palm, generally called in India *pophal*, and the nut *supári*. The name *areca* is Malayalam of Malabar, *not* Malay of the Peninsula and Eastern Isles. The nut, in that language, is *pinang*, and there is a Sanskrit name, *guvaka*. It is brought to Europe as a vermifuge.

guest, and in farewell at his going. Princes make it the sign of their favour, and lovers of their affection. It is good against all disorders of the stomach arising from cold, strengthens and preserves the teeth and gums, and sweetens the breath. For these and many other virtues it is highly valued, and exported to the lands where it does not grow.

Next comes opium, commonly called *afion* by Orientals, the use whereof is most common amongst Mahometans. The Persians distinguish it especially as *teriaca*.[1] So great is the value they set upon that gum, which drops naturally from the stem of the poppy plant, and needs no mixture or preparation. Poor people use the husks, and a decoction thereof, instead of opium, and as the husks are called *pust*, those who do so go by the name of *pustys*, as men who use opium are called *afiony*, which, when used in anger, are terms of reproach and insult.[2]

The Persians hold that the use of this gum was discovered by princes and great captains, who used it to obtain the sleep of which their many cares deprived them.[3] The people, who ever strive to copy these, soon followed their example, and so the drug

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[1] Gr. θηριακά (φαρμακα) = antidotes against injuries caused by animals, especially venomous reptiles. The word presently came to include antidotes against poisons in general, and still later was applied to nostrums of professed universal virtue. Some of these were made even in Europe under this name, well into the nineteenth century, and may still be, in some places. Many of them were little more than preparations of opium, and in Persia, in the seventeenth century, "the best sorts" (of opium) "were flavoured with nutmeg, cardamom, cinnamon and mace, or simply with saffron and ambergris," and called *Theriaka* (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, p. 41, ed. 1874). Greek words, more or less disguised, are very commonly in use amongst Oriental druggists and physicians, and called *yunání*.

[2] Persian *past*=low, mean, vile, etc. This can scarceiy be the origin of the term *pusties* (formed on the analogy of *mesties, casties*—Portuguese *mestiço, castiço*), applied by the Dutch in the East to a certain class of the population. According to Wolf (see *Life and Adventures of J. C. Wolf*, p. 267), in Ceylon, in the eighteenth century, "a child whose father and mother are both Europeans, belongs to the class called *Pustiz*;" and he puts the *castiz* and *mestiz* next in order. On the other hand, Haafner, writing of Batavia at the same period, says (*Loigevallen en Vroegere Zeereizen*, p. 179): "The *Poestieses* so called are those that are born of a European and a *Kasties* woman;" and he places the order thus: European, *mesties, kasties, poesties, topaz*, and black Portuguese. (On *mestiz* and *castiz* see Linschoten, vol. i, pp. 183-184; Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 38; *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* "Castees.")—D. F.

[3] Flückiger and Hanbury suggest that opium-eating originated in Persia. They describe the modern Persian drug as of varying quality and value; the strongest, Teriak-i-Arabistáni, being produced in Irak (*Pharmacographia*, pp. 45, 46).

was introduced, and there are few who do not eat it. I have seen men die in various places for want of opium, and others from taking more than they were used to, in which case it is a deadly poison. There are two chief sorts of opium in the East: *malwy*, made in Malue, and *mecery*, brought from Mecere, which is Cairo in Egypt.[1]

There is another beverage called *kaoàh*,[2] much used in all Turkey, Arabia, Persia, and Syria. It is a seed, very like little dry beans, and is brought from Arabia. It is prepared in houses kept for the purpose. The decoction is thick, nearly black, and insipid. If it has any flavour this inclines to bitterness, but very little. All those who want it assemble in these houses, where they are served with it very hot in Chinese porcelain cups, that may hold four or five ounces. These they take into their hands, and sit blowing on it and sipping. Those who are accustomed to drink it say that it is good for the stomach, prevents flatulence and piles, and stimulates the appetite.[3]

After the same fashion is the Chinese *cha*,[4] and is taken in the same way, except that *cha* is the leaf of a little herb, a certain plant brought from Tartary, which was shown to me in Malaca. But, because it was dry, I could not well judge of its form. It is proclaimed to be very beneficial, and prophylactic of those disorders which Chinese gluttony might provoke.

Nor is there any great difference between these and the chocolate of New Spain, made of the *kakao*, a fruit not unlike *kaoàh*.[5]

In the kingdom of Guzarate and Cambaya the natives use to flavour all their food with *ingu*, that is, assafœtida, of which I shall say more hereafter.[6] No savoury dish finds favour with them without that gum, and they rub the inside of their cooking

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[1] Cf. Garcia de Orta, *Col. XLI;* Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 112-114.—D. F.

[2] Coffee. [What follows is practically a repetition of the details given in chap. vi of the author's *Voyage* (see *supra*, p. 62).—D. F.]

[3] The preparation, use, and service of coffee have changed a good deal since this was written, even in the East, probably with increase of supply and improvement of science. It had been for little over half a century in use in Constantinople in our author's time. [Cf. with Teixeira's description the note by Paludanus in Linschoten, vol. i, p. 157.—D. F.]

[4] Tea. The remarks which follow are part of the evidence suggesting that Teixeira had not visited China or Japan. [Cf. Linschoten, vol. i, p. 157.—D. F.]

[5] This statement would seem to show that Teixeira had never seen the fruit of the cacao.—D. F.

[6] In chap. xxii (see *infra*, p. 209). Cf. what follows with Garcia de Orta, f. 21 *v.*—D. F.

pots therewith. And though to those unused it is distasteful, and the smell a dreadful stench, yet has it a pleasant flavour to men who have learnt its use, and they feel the want of it much, as of a thing very important to their health.[1]

Others habitually drink hot water, as on the coast of Choromandel and in China, where they have certain vessels of tin, with cases and cloth wrappings, wherein the water remains hot all day and longer.[2]

Others commonly chew mastic, especially in Persia, where they call it *mastaquy*, and perfume with it their drinking water. The rich for this purpose use ambar,[3] which they call by the same name. A great deal of this is used in Persia and Arabia, whither it is brought from India, but far more from the coast of Melinde, and that of the African negroes on the Indian Ocean. This they call Zanguybar or Black Men's Sea, from *zanguy*, meaning black, and *bar*, the sea.[4] The Portuguese corrupt this into Zanzibar. At Brava,[5] a port of that coast, there was found in the year 1593 a mass of ambar so great, that a man on one side of it could not see a camel standing on the other.[6]

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[1] Only a few Europeans know how much assafœtida is used in Western India, even by themselves, especially in the *pápadams* or wafers used with curry and rice. There is rather a curious trade in the drug, conducted by Afghan pedlars on foot, who find an article so light in proportion to its price easy to carry. The common Indian name is *hing* [see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*—D. F.]. That employed in Indian cookery is of very fine quality, and used in tiny quantities. Homœopathists' globules are coarse to them. Vide *Pharmacographia*, *sub voce*, for more about this drug.

[2] Cf. Linschoten, vol. i, p. 157.—D. F.

[3] This perfume (Arabic *anbar*) is the "ambergris" of Europe, the fragrant secretion of the sperm whale. The name belongs of right to it, and seems to have been first misapplied to fossil amber by the Latin races, during the Musalman ascendency in the Mediterranean. Ambergris is said to have been used in giving bouquet to claret; and I have known Europeans to like it in sherbet. The quantities used are almost microscopic. The whale is in process of extinction, and the genuine drug of disappearance.

[4] Here there is a confusion between *bar*, or *barr*, = a region, and *bahr* = a sea. The "Zanguy" is right enough, and *Zang-bar* means "negro-land." [Cf. Garcia de Orta, f. 13 *v.*—D. F.]

[5] Brava is in modern Somali-land. [See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*—D. F.]

[6] The man was perhaps short-sighted, or the camel short-legged. But masses of ambergris expressible in terms of hundredweights have several times been recorded. Fossil amber has not, I think, been found in masses of more than a few pounds. [It looks as if Teixeira wanted to "go one better" than the piece weighing fifty quintals, found near Cape Comorin in 1555, *teste* Garcia de Orta (f. 12 *v*). (See also Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 93.)—D. F.]

In Santo Domingo, Peru, Mexico, Manilla, in France and England, and many other parts of the world, tobacco is much in use. This is the dried *herba sancta*,[1] whereof some are found to praise and approve the smoke. To conclude, it would be hard to reckon up all the meats and drinks that people have invented, and go on daily inventing, for their pleasure; without all which life might be better spent, and more safely. Our own Spain, indeed, is free of this fault; albeit she hath others even less endurable.

[In another digression Teixeira treats of the name of Persia, and the identity of that country with Parthia; of Shiráz and its inhabitants; of the three dialects of Persian; and of the productions and exports of Shiráz.]

CHAPTER VII.

[Digressing on the subject of sashes and girdles as badges of honour, Teixeira flies off to China, and relates two stories to show how justice was done in that country; ultimately returning to the subject of girdles.]

(*Parenthesis, serving as we use a note.*)

This city of Hrey[2] is famous, as much for its size as for some things found therein, of which I will mention only the mana, as the best and purest yet known.[3] It is taken hence in great quantity to Harmuz, and exported thence to all the East. Mana is called in Persian *xir quest*, that is, "milk of the *quest* tree," from *xir*, which is Persian for milk (though it also means a lion), and *quest*, the name of the tree that yields it.[4] There is also plenty of it in another city of Persia, called Rey Xarear, but not so good.[5] Another sort of mana, called *toraniabin*, is found in many parts of Persia. It is very like dry coriander seed, and is

[1] "*Yerva santa seca.*" "Herba sancta" seems to have been a recognized name for the plant. But I am not aware that it was ever so called in English.

[2] Ancient Rhagae, the scene of Tobias's remarkable courtship, now called, on different maps, Rhé, Ré, Rhey, Rái. The ruins are a short way south by east of Tehrán, and a modern village amidst them is called Sháh-Abdul Azím. Teixeira mentions it again in his list of provinces as a city of "Karason": "Hrey, which produces much and good mana; whose walls the cool river Habin bathes." [See *infra*, Appendix C.—D. F.] Tehrán may be said almost to represent Rhagae.

[3] Cf. what follows with Garcia de Orta, f. 132 *et seq.*; Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 100.—D. F.

[4] The tree here in question, one of many that produce "mannas, is probably *khisht*, *Cotoneaster nummularia* (*Pharmacographia*, p. 372). *Sher* does mean a lion, and *shír*, milk; and the actual letters of the words are identical.

[5] See *infra*, Appendix C.—D. F.

produced on certain herbs like wild thistles.[1] It is very delicate, and a safe drug, wherefore the Persians used to give it to children and pregnant women, in double the dose used of the other sort. On the African coast of the Indian sea, near Mozambique, there are two islands called Aniza and Querinba,[2] wherein much mana is obtained, but of comparatively the lowest quality. For that of Persia is white, soft, sweet, and mild, in grains like those of incense[3] or mastic. But that of the isles is hard, splintery, of a grayish-red colour, of pungent taste, and less laxative, although by no means inert. There is also brought from Basorà a sort of mana, packed in leather sacks, looking like coarse honey. All mana is gum produced by one tree or another, like other gums, and the stories of its coming of dew, *et cetera*, are inventions, or based on bad evidence.

CHAPTERS VIII-XIII.

[Chapter VIII contains a digression on the origin of the Turks; the names Rumy and Frangue, etc.

Chapters IX-XIII contain no digressions.]

CHAPTER XIV.

This city Mazandaron[4] . . . . In A.D. 1597, when I found myself

[1] The Camel-thorn, *Alhagi maurorum*, a little shiny leguminous plant, well known in India as *jawâsa*, and used in making rough "tatties," hung up wet to keep tents cool. I am not aware that manna is got from it in India. ["*Toraniabin*" represents Arab. *taranjubîn* (Pers. *tarangubîn*)=manna.—D. F.]

[2] Amiza (not "Aniza") or Wamisi Island lies a little to the south of Cape Delgado, and is one of the most northerly of the chain of coral islands known under the name of Querimba, of which Querimba Island itself, lying off the mouth of the Mtepwesi River, forms one of the southernmost. As to their producing manna, I can add nothing to Teixeira's statement.—D. F.

[3] "*Enciensio*," meaning probably olibanum, a substance then, as now, much used in the preparation of ceremonial incense, and likely to be familiar to many of Teixeira's readers.

[4] There seems to be now no city Mazandaran, if ever there was. The city referred to may probably have been Sari, possibly Balfarush. It does not much matter, and the passage omitted does not matter at all. [Don Juan de Persia (Ulugh Beg), in his *Relaciones*, says (f. 6*v*) that the capital of the province of Mazandaran was "Mazandaran, a city of fifty thousand inhabitants." Sir T. Herbert's map of "The Persian Empire" (p. 153 of his *Travels*) shows both "Barfrush" and "Mazendram;" and, if the position of the places entered in the map could be depended upon as correct (which it certainly cannot), "Mazendram" should represent Mashad-i-Sar on the Caspian Sea, at the mouth of the Babil river. But there can be little doubt, I think, that "Mazandaran" was an alternative name for Sari, the ancient capital of the province (see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 379).—D. F.]

there,[1] the governor of the city and province was one Malek Sultan Mahamed, a Persian of uncommon might in war. He had one arm notably longer than the other, insomuch that it reached below his knee. And about that time he showed a good sample of his spirit. For, as he made tour of his lands, there came against him an enemy with seven thousand men, whom he faced with three hundred; forced him into the field, engaged and beat him killing most of his men.

In connection with this matter, I remember that there dwelt in the city of Cochim a citizen, with whom I have often spoken,[2] whose right arm was very much the longer; and the gentiles of Choromandel, whereof he was a native, born in the city of Santo Thome, did him reverence, as being out of the common. For the eastern gentiles are wont to venerate as supernatural everything beyond the usual limits of nature: such as trees of unusual size, a two-headed ox, as I saw in Goa, or an oddly-shaped stone. For this reason, and to give them the less excuse, this citizen had orders not to travel in those lands without special permission.[3]

[In a later digression Teixeira refers to the province of Ardabel, or Ardavil, and explains the origin and meaning of Sufy.[4]]

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[1] As mentioned in the Introduction, Teixeira seems to have made a journey in the early part of 1597 from Hormuz to the north of Persia (with what object he does not say). The engagement he speaks of was probably the suppression of a local rising, the provinces of Gilán and Mazandaran having only a few years previously been conquered by Sháh Abbás (see *infra*, p. 208). It could hardly have any connection with the invasion of Khorasan by the Uzbegs under Talím Khán, who were entirely defeated by Sháh Abbás, near Herat, in 1597 (see Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 346; Markham's *History of Persia*, p. 274). I have found no other reference to the long-armed governor, Malik Sultán Muhammad.—D. F.

[2] As mentioned in the Introduction, Teixeira would appear to have made a stay in Cochin during the years 1590 and 1591 (see *infra*, chap. xxxiii). The long-armed citizen, of whom he here speaks, may possibly be the Matheus Vaz (a native of São Thomé, but resident in Cochin) referred to in royal letters to the Viceroy of India, of March 3rd, 1594, and March 8th, 1596; from which it seems that he had petitioned the King to confer on him the "habit of Christ" in reward for his many services (see *Arch. Port.-Or.*, fasc. 3, pp. 447, 608).—D. F.

[3] There is a good deal of this feeling in Western India still. Mere stature makes little impression, and the people are now used to see races of Upper India quite equal in that to the average of Europeans. But a hump-back, or one long arm, is still something more than human to many. It must be remembered in considering all cases of attribution of supernatural quality to human beings, including European officers, that the belief is not necessarily a compliment to the manners or morals of the gentleman so revered.

[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 189, *n.*—D. F.

CHAPTERS XV-XVII.

[At the end of Chapter XV, Teixeira speaks of Lokman, whom he identifies with Aesop.

In Chapter XVI, he parenthetically mentions that he had, when in Hormuz, seen King Ferrogotxa[1] and his nobles on several occasions engage in jousts on horseback.

In Chapter XVII, our author indulges in a short etymological disquisition in connection with Aderbaion and other place-names. In another short digression, he contrasts the habit of the Persians of carrying their jewels with them everywhere, even into war, with that of the Uzbegs.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

[Teixeira mentions in a brief digression the fact of the Persians' possessing the works of various Greek writers on philosophy and medicine.

Further on, our author parenthetically compares certain Persian books with the Orlando epic.[2]

In a longer digression Teixeira treats of Kabul, and then proceeds :—]

From this city [of Kabul] comes the name of one sort of that medicinal fruit called myrobalan, which the Arabs and Persians call generally *alilâh*,[3] and the natives of India corrupt this (as

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[1] See *supra*, p. 166, and *infra*, chap. xxxv.—D. F.

[2] See *supra*. p. 131, *n*.—D. F.

[3] *Halilah*, one of several Arabic and Persian names for myrobalans. *Halilah zard* in Persian would mean "Yellow myrobalan," though I do not find it in dictionaries. [It is given in Johnson's *Pers.-Arab.-Eng. Dict.*—D. F.] Teixeira's word for "yellow" is *citrina*, which is now the "specific" name of a Bengal variety (?). Brandis gives a Hindustani name, *harara*, which is evidently Teixeira's "*arare*." But, as all the myrobalans are Indian, the Indian names are the originals, and the Persian and Arabic derivatives.

The three principal myrobalan trees, all well known to me as forest trees, are—

(1) *Terminalia Chebula* (nat. ord. *Combretaceæ*), the chebulic myrobalan, *arare*, Hind., as above mentioned, *hirda* in Marathi. This is by far the most important of all.

(2) *T. bellerica*, the belleric myrobalan, for which Brandis rather vaguely gives a name "Balra," in what language is not clear (*Forest Flora*, *sub voce*) ; but it is, perhaps, a variant of the Marathi name *bheda*, which has one in every district. An Arabic name is *balilah*. This nut is of no great value, and the fruit is often allowed to rot in heaps under the tree.

(3) *Phyllanthus emblica* (nat. ord. *Euphorbiaceæ*), the emblic myrobalan, Sanskrit *âmalaka*, whence several Indian vernacular names, the Arabic *amlah*, and eventually our "*emblica*." This is a

they treat many other names) to *arare*. Thus the bitter or yellow myrobalans are called *alilàh zard*, and those from Kabúl *kabuly*, which our doctors call Kebulos. The Doctor Garcia Dorta deals sufficiently with these and all the rest.[1] But he did not know one variety of those Kebulos, of great size, as I am witness. For I saw, in the possession of a gentile merchant named Iogheà Bangasaly,[2] a myrobalan weighing sixteen ounces, and in that of a Portuguese hidalgo one of twelve ounces; nor was there any difference between these and the common Kebulos, but in size only. They would have me believe of these large specimens, that if one would only hold them tight in one's hand for a little while, they would purge the bowels. This I tried, and found it untrue; but further, that an infusion or decoction of the the same, as a draught, was aperient, and very useful against fevers and dysentery. So much for the Kebulos.

CHAPTERS XIX-XX.

[In Chapter XIX, Teixeira explains, parenthetically, that in the East the washing of clothes is done by men, who are called *maynatos*;[3] and a little further on gives the etymology of Darab, which name, he says, the Latins turned into Darius.

Chapter XX contains no digressions.]

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very different plant from the others, much smaller; and the pulpy fruit, besides its uses as an astringent, is pickled and eaten.

Upon the derivation of "*chebulica*," see an interesting note of Sir James McNab Campbell's (in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xi, p. 25), who is inclined to trace it to an old name of the modern Chaul (ancient Semylla), rather than to Kabul.

As to the myrobalans of twelve and sixteen ounces weight, it is difficult to imagine what they were, but certain that they were not the fruit of any *Terminalia* or *Phyllanthus*. Such a fruit, weighing even an ounce avoirdupois, when dry, would be a very remarkable specimen indeed.

[In *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Myrobalan," will be found a mass of valuable and interesting details.—D. F.]

[1] In his *Colloquio XXXVII* (see also Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 123-126).—D. F.

[2] Iogheà Bangasaly was probably either a Bengálí or a warehouseman. Teixeira's confusion of *bangasála* (= a warehouse) with Bangala has been noticed by Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Bankshall"), and above, p. 168, *n.*

[3] Malayalam *mainättu* = washerman (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "mainato," where "Tamil" is an error; also Linschoten, vol. i, p. 260, *n.*, and vol. ii, p. 340). The Portuguese adopted the word into their vocabulary, as the English have adopted *dhobi*.—D. F.

CHAPTER XXI.

[Teixeira digresses first on the subject of Cairo and Damascus.

A little afterwards he again digresses regarding Gueylon in Persia; and after some introductory remarks proceeds :—]

Of the five governments[1] contained in Gueylon [Gilán], the first is called after its chief town, Raxt. In 1595, when I made this note,[2] the Governor was Iamxed Khan. The second is named from the city Gaxkhar, then governed by one Syauex, and both of these were chiefs of great account. The third is called Laion, which also is the name of its capital; . . . and its lord and governor was Khan Hamed, whom the Turk Selim made prisoner when he won Tabriz, and put in ward at Bagdad. The fourth province or government, called Langar Kanon, from its chief city, was then governed by Amir Amza Khan, a man of great endowments and courage, with whom dwelt his eleven brothers, all knights of fame. The fifth government, called, for the same reason as the rest, Kudám, was held by Komron Mirza. Next comes Mazandaron already mentioned, which, in alliance with some of these governments of Gueylon, rebelled against Xá Abáz, King of Persia, in the year 1593; and he, to reduce them, marched hastily against them in 1594, with twenty thousand horse.[3]

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[1] These, or rather their chief towns, appear on the Royal Geographical Society's Map, 1892, as Resht, Keshkan, Lahijan, Lenkoran, and Kudum. [See *infra*, Appendix C.—D. F.]

[2] *Quando esto iua escriuiendo*, "when I was writing this." I think "this" refers to the *Kings of Persia*, which Teixeira translated and condensed from Mír Khwánd's work, during his stay in Hormuz (see Introduction).—D. F.

[3] Here comes an account of the Sháh's victorious campaign, especially of how he passed a river at the head of his horsemen. It is not *de visu*, and indeed the passage already extracted is chiefly interesting because its dates give some chance of checking other accounts of these transactions. [On the reduction of Gilán and Mazandaran see Sir Anthony Sherley in Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, p. 1392 *et seq.*); Sir T. Herbert (*Travels*, p. 198 *et seq.*); Malcolm (*History of Persia*, vol. i, p. 345); Curzon (*Persia and the Persian Question*, vol. i, p. 372). The capture of Tabríz by Selim II (1566-74) during the reign of Sháh Tamasp (1525-76) is referred to by Teixeira in chap. v of the First Book of his *Kings of Persia;* and its recovery by Sháh Abbás is mentioned at the end of same work (cf. *Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, pp. 356, 400, and notes). Of the governors of the five places named by Teixeira I have found no mention in any of the works that I have consulted.—D. F.]

CHAPTER XXII.

[This chapter, covering twenty-four pages of the original, consists chiefly of lengthy digressions.

Teixeira's first excursion (a short one) is in regard to Hyerak.

Then follows a very long digression on India, in which the writer first refers to the Indus and its affluents, and then enumerates various kingdoms in the north-west of India. Particularising Utrad, he mentions that thence come rock-salt and spikenard. He then adds :—]

There comes also from Utrad[1] the perfect *ingo*, which our physicians call Assa fetida.[2] This gum is obtained from three sources: the best, very pure and least bitter, from Utrad, as I have said. The second sort is collected in Duzgun, in Persia, a town near Lastan, between Komron and Lara, a city about thirty leagues from Harmuz.[3] The third comes from the province of Karaçon, in the same land of Persia.[4] The plants producing this gum are of two sorts. One is a tall shrub with small leaves, somewhat like those of rue, and produces little. The other is a root like a radish, which sends up tall and tender shoots, with leaves much like those of the castor-oil plant. In some places the plants are cultivated, and elsewhere they grow wild, loving mountains and rugged places. Most of the gum[5] is collected at the end of autumn. . . . . I had in Harmuz, in the year 1596, four roots that I obtained from Duzgun. They were very like the great *ynnnames*[6] that come from Guyné; and so strong was their smell

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[1] "Otrar" of modern maps, on the Jaxartes.

[2] See *supra*, p. 201. Cf. what follows with Garcia de Orta's *Colloquio VII.*—D. F.

[3] Duzgun and Lastan are not now to be found, unless the latter is represented on the Royal Geographical Society's Map by Latitun or Raristan, both on the route from "Komron" ("Gombroon" or Bandar Abbas) to Lár, which route is clearly marked. ["Duzgun" must be the "Dashgun" of the Survey of India Map, a place about half-way between Bandar Abbas and Lár by the *coast* road, *viâ* Khamir, Jena, and Bastak. "Lastan" I cannot identify, unless it represent Bandar Hasan, which is the immediately preceding town (cf. "Lasán" for Al Hása, *supra*, p. 29). In his *Brief Account of the Provinces of Persia* (Appendix C, *infra*) Teixeira does not mention "Duzgun," but names "Lastam" as yielding the *ingo*.—D. F.]

[4] See *infra*, Appendix C.—D. F.

[5] Engelbert Kämpfer saw the gum collected near Disgun, or Duzgun, in 1687, and his specimens are in the British Museum, or were when the *Pharmacographia* was published in 1874. For many interesting details, see that work, and *Hobson-Jobson*, which is a later publication, *s. vv.* "Asafœtida" and "Hing" respectively. [See also *supra*, p. 202, *n.*—D. F.]

[6] Yams. The third "n" is probably a misprint.

that in all the house was none who could abide it. In eight months that I kept them they decayed not, nor lost any of their fragrance. The Arabs call this gum by several names, of which the chief are *haltit*, *samaktre*, *hhilhheis*, *zdefa;* and the Persians call it *inghza*. The Baneanes of Cambaya call that of Utrad *inguh*, and that of Persia *ingára*.

[Teixeira then proceeds to speak of the kingdoms of Cache (Kacch) and Cambaya, and their animal, vegetable, and mineral products; and deals at some length with the religious beliefs of the inhabitants of the latter kingdom, especially as regards the taking of life.

Then come references to the kingdoms of De Kan (*sic*), Cun Kan (*sic*), and Canarà of the Chatins.[1]

In another digression, the supersession of the old Persian characters by the Arabic is mentioned; and the writer states that he had often seen metal plates with writing on them which none could read, but which, he was told, was "*forç kadin*, of the old style" (? Arab. *fursiy kadîm* = "ancient Persian"). This digression ends with the citation of a number of Arabic words adopted into Spanish and Portuguese.

Further on, Teixeira digresses to speak of the Brahmans; and this leads him to treat of the calenders and jogis, one of whom, named Ralu, he saw, who lived in a cave for ten days and nights without food. He proceeds to describe more fully another personal experience, as follows :—]

In the year 1588 I was bound from the Isle of Seylan to Goa, in the company of one[2] who soon after became Viceroy of India, and our fleet cast anchor before Barselor.[3] I wanted to see the Portuguese fortress, and the city of the same name, which they call Upper Barselor, the capital of Canarà, and of the king-

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[1] See foot-note *infra*.—D. F.

[2] Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, returning from the relief of Columbo, March, 1588. He succeeded Dom Duarte de Menezes as Governor (not *Viceroy*) on the 4th of May (see Introduction).—D. F.

[3] On Barcelor see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. vv.* "Bacanore and Barcelore." Faria y Sousa's statements (see next note) regarding the republic of "Chatins" at Barcelor are copied (abbreviated) from Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. III, cap. xvi (see also *Dec. VI*, Liv. VIII, cap. iv). In Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, tom. II, p. 476, is a plan of the Portuguese fort of "Barcalor;" and at a little distance is shown a bit of "Barcalor de sima," *i.e.*, Upper Barcelor, and a "*mesquita*" (mosque) within walls, which may represent the temple spoken of by Teixeira. Across a river, or arm of the sea, is shown the town of "Cambolim" (? Kumbla). There is also a plan of the fort, with description, in the Ressende MS. in the British Museum (*Sloane* 197, f. 284). Valentyn (*Malabar*, p. 6) gives a plan of the Dutch *logie* at "Barsaloor," drawn in 1686. Regarding the situation of the place, see Lieut. H. S. Brown's *Handbook to the Ports on the Coast of India*, 1897, p. 158. (Cf. also Linschoten, vol. i, p. 66; Barbosa, p. 82.)—D. F.

dom of the Chatins above mentioned.[1] I obtained leave and went ashore. The city is a league and a half by a pleasant road from the fortress; of good size, girt with a wall and ditch provided with artillery. It is well placed, on a plentiful river of fresh water. The houses are of well-wrought timber, and the numerous temples of cut stone and mortar. The greatest of these is in the midst of the city, and is square, like a cloister of one of our monasteries. There was a sort of oratory just within the gate, and built in the form of a *charola*,[2] with an idol therein. All the rest was a square, with passages and sleeping-rooms or cells around it, wherein lodge the Bamanes, or Bragmanes, the priests and servants of the temple. Six or seven paces without the gate, and opposite to it, there stood in a level place a square pedestal[3] of cut stone masonry, about thirty palms high. The

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[1] In the passage referred to, "Chatin" is mentioned as a style of certain merchants or tradesmen, the modern "chetties" of the Madras Presidency; and they are described, with rather less probability, as governing Canara as a Republic. The truth was, doubtless, that the city had a strong municipal administration, extending a little way outside the gates. But the "commonwealth" is also mentioned by Faria y Sousa: at least he is quoted to that effect, in both editions of the *Imperial Gazetteer*—let him verify who list. Both of these put that place in the position of Kolúr, which is impossible, as Pietro Della Valle was at least forty hours in getting from one to the other. The *South Kanara District Manual*, 1895, puts the matter right; and the true name of the latter is given as "Kadachadri," or "Kollur," "a magnificent sugar-loaf peak," 4,400 feet high, apparently somewhere near the "Barkalur Nagar or Kollur" of Bartholomew's Map of 1891. This place is too far inland to be the town visited by Teixeira, and sacked by Raja Sivaji in 1665 (Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Marathas*, edition of 1873, p. 90), on what is now called the Kundapur (or Kandapur?) river: a conclusion which the present writer had arrived at before seeing that work. But the district officer is now the only real authority on such points, where maps are bad.

[2] The sort of litter used to carry images in procession. What is meant is that the little shrine was shaped like the god's palanquins, or perhaps like a chariot (*ratha*), both very common forms for such buildings.

[3] "*Pedestal*" in original, and, a little lower down, "*pedestal o piramide.*" It is probable that "pillar or obelisk" would have expressed the facts of the case better, but the translator is not at liberty to amend a clear text. The thing meant is evidently a *dípdan*, or *dípmal*, a very common object throughout India, in such places as that described, and often a very beautiful one. It is a pillar of cut stone or brickwork, with niches or brackets for countless lamps, to be lit up at festivals. I take the "*palmas*" to be great palms, or "spans," of about 9 ins. each, which would make the height of the pillar about 22½ ft., a very common height, and expressible in Hindu cubits of 18 ins. to 19 ins. I suppose I have seen a thousand such *dípmals*,

four sides of this were full of niches, to put the lights in that they burn there by night, and at the top was a very great and well-wrought metal lamp-stand.[1]

I came into the city at dawn, and saw at the foot of that pedestal, or pyramid, a Ioguy—a man of great stature, robust, black, and ugly—seated on the ground, stark-naked but for a dirty little rag by way of fig-leaf. He had in his hand a forked stick two palms long, on which he rested now one arm and then the other, and sometimes his legs.[2] He was all covered with ashes, which he took now and then in his hand and strewed on his head.[3] This was in the end of March, when the heat is already very great in those countries.

When I had observed this, I went to look at the rest of the city, and came back at noon, and found the Ioguy in the blazing sunshine, as quiet and patient as if he had been in a very cool shady house, and there he stayed until evening. After sunset there came others[4] to join him, whom he arose to receive. They lit a fire of branches that these had brought, made new ashes, and strewed them on their heads, facing westward. Then, having offered up a certain prayer, they saluted each other, and went every one his own way, and he returned to his post. I asked how long he had been there, and was told that it was some years; and that neither sun nor rain could drive him away; nor would he leave that spot but on his natural occasions. I relate what I

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and pictures of as many more, very various in plan and proportion, but never stumpy enough to be called in English "pedestals" or "pyramids."

[1] "*Candelero*," probably a brass stand for many small lamps, certainly not what we now call a "chandelier." Hindu sacristans do not even yet like candles.

[2] Crutches like this are in common use, though not universal, amongst Hindu and Musalman ascetics in India, and (I am told) amongst Western dervishes. They are often of very curious form, natural or artificial, and sometimes of metal. A man of Ahmadabad, calling himself a fakir (with doubtful claim), but well known as a bad character, came before a magistrate with a petition, holding a steel crutch in a manner that attracted attention. The magistrate suddenly stepped forward, and drew from it a very effective blade, as of a sword-cane, over a foot long, to which the crutch-head formed a haft, like that of a Malay *kris*. The whole length of the crutch is usually about eighteen inches, which confirms my conjecture that Teixeira's "*palmo*" was of about nine—our "span."

[3] I have frequently been assured by respectable Jogis and Gosais that wood ashes are very comfortable wear. They are certainly (*as properly prepared for that purpose*) "very clean dirt;" much less offensive to the "Europe nose" than the vegetable oils used by many natives, and not a little antiseptic. Good ascetics are usually healthy.

[4] It appears that the first "Ioguy" was the chief, and that the others, who came to him and brought him fuel, were his *chelas*, or disciples.

saw as an instance of the usual practice of those poor wretches, and what pains they take to go to hell, while we trouble ourselves so little to win heaven.[1] . . . .

[In another digression Teixeira says that the name Chin (China) was used by the Persians, in a general way, for the countries to the East (Tartary, etc.). He then proceeds :—]

The most and best of the rhubarb[2] comes from Gax Khar,[3] or Kax Ghar, a city of Usbek, a province near Kethao Kothan; they call it *reuandchiny*, that is, "rhubarb of China," to distinguish it from that collected in Persia and Karason. This they call *reuandaspy*, or "horse rhubarb," because they doctor horses with it. The Portuguese also bring it from China, and I have seen some of this very good, but not equal to the other, nor does it keep good so long. Some say that its inferior quality and durability are caused by the Chinese boiling it, to use the decoction themselves. But they are wrong, for the truth is, that this drug is naturally inferior. Moreover, it comes from China by sea to India, whose regions, and especially those where dwell the Portuguese, are very damp; and, however short be its time there, before re-export to Portugal, perforce it suffers, and loses much of its quality and effect. The rhubarb plant is like a turnip. It produces, from a short stem, some little leaves near the ground.[4] It is dug up when ripe, and cut in pieces, which are the lumps[5] brought hither to us. These are strung up on threads through the

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[1] It is only fair to the Indian ascetics to observe that a good many of them are men of genuine piety and decent habits, according to their lights; and this is as true of Hindus as of Musalmans. Some are men of ability and energy, and even of learning. Their general ill-repute amongst Englishmen is due partly to our prejudice against asceticism in general, and partly to the extravagances and insolence of some of their number; but most of all to the criminal habits of their worst specimens, and to the use of their profession, as a disguise, by common criminals, who have never been members of any regular order whatever.

[2] Cf. what follows with Garcia de Orta's *Colloquio XLVIII*, and Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 101.—D. F.

[3] This is the modern Kashgar in Turkistan; by no means the "Gax Khar" of "Gueylon" mentioned above (p. 208).

[4] "*Hojas menudas y poco llevantados.*" Perhaps Teixeira had not seen even the Persian plant in leaf. It is clear that he had not seen anything but the prepared form of *Rheum officinale*, "a perennial plant resembling the common garden rhubarb, but of larger size" (*Pharmacographia, sub voce*). But the stress which he lays upon the durability of rhubarb brought *overland* from Northern Asia is justified by Mr. Hanbury's notice of specimens "eighty years old, and still sound and good" (*ibidem*). Garden rhubarb is *Rheum rhaponticum*.

[5] "*Boletos.*"

middle, and put to dry in the open air. Some one has written that the people string them so as to hang them round their cattle's necks, and so smuggle them from one kingdom to another, the export being forbidden. But he was ill-informed; for it is not forbidden now, nor ever was; and there is such plenty of rhubarb where it is collected that one *man*, a weight of about thirty-six ounces, is commonly worth a *sady*, that is, just half a real.[1]

[Then follow some more remarks on the Tartar Empire, where, says the writer, much pure gold is found. He continues :—]

Also there is brought thence [from Western China, Mongolia, etc.] most of the *almiscar*, which the Arabs and Persians call *mexk*, *mesk*, or *mosk*. A rat, too, is called *moxk* in Persian.[2] But this is not because the perfumed rats of India, who smell most sweetly of musk, are any kin of the animals which produce the same. For these last are gazelles, large animals like a sort of deer, and the others are very little rats, like those that we call *musaraneus*.[3] All the musk brought from places outside China, as from Bengal, Pegu, and other occasional sources, is better [than the Chinese]. The reason is that it has not come into the hands of the Chinamen, whose spirit suffers them not to let anything pass them in its purity.[4]

[The Mongol peoples are then referred to; and the writer mentions the *calanbá* (calumba), and says :—]

It is a wonderful thing that in one trunk of one tree[5] are found very often the *calanbá* and the *aguyla*, or lign aloes, and another

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[1] From the *Lyvro dos Pesos da Ymdia*, by Ant. Nunez (printed in *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portugueza*, Lisbon, 1868), we learn that at Hormuz (in 1554) rhubarb was sold by *mãos da tara* (*i.e.*, maunds with a tare or allowance), each *mão* having a *picota*, or additional allowance, of 28 Hormuz *maticals*, making (according to Nunez) 2 lb., 5 oz., $1\frac{3}{4}$ *mat.* (see pp. 12, 52). According to the same authority (see pp. 25, 63), the Hormuz *çadi* was worth 100 *dinars*, or in modern Portuguese currency, as computed by the editor, Sr. R. J. de Lima Felner, nearly 15 *reis* (say 3 farthings).—D. F.

[2] *Mush*, *mushchah*, practically the same word as the Latin *mus*, our *mouse*, etc. Teixeira very critically proceeds to point out that we must not confuse mice and rats, particularly "musk-rats," with musk deer. His compliment to the rats (which are *shrews*, *Crocidura murina*, and *C. cærulea*) will scarcely be echoed by the Anglo-Indian public, by whom the flavour is found a trifle too strong.

[3] That is, *shrew mice*; a sound scientific observation, marking our author as a naturalist.

[4] A rather lame but literal rendering. The original is well worth giving: "*Chinas, cuyo animo no sufre dexar alguna cosa en su pureza.*" [Cf. Garcia de Orta, ff. 74, 184 *v.*—D. F.]

[5] *Aquilaria agallocha.* [Cf. Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 95.—D. F.]

wood different from both,[1] as I frequently found by proof. The reason is, when those trees are cut they are thrown into the mud by the rivers, wherein the useless wood rots away, but the good remains. This wood is found also in the forests of Malaca, and of the neighbouring kingdom of Pan, which the Portuguese call Paõ.[2] The Arabs and Persians call the *aguila*, or lign aloes, *ud*, and the *kalambá kalumbuk*.[3] And now that I have briefly dealt with this precious wood, I will digress just a little[4] about sandalwood,[5] whereof the white is of no less virtue than the yellow. This is no separate species, only the white turned a little bitter by some cause or chance.[6] It is got in Thimor, an island five hundred miles from Malaca, and is called in the Thimor language *chandaua*,[7] which the Persians and Arabs corrupt a little to *sandal*, and the Latins after them to *sandalo*.

[Then follows a description of how the trees grow and the wood is obtained; and some stories are told to exemplify the guilelessness of the inhabitants of Timor. The writer proceeds :—]

There are in this isle [Thimor] other woods of much virtue, but less thought of, as not articles of trade, Such are *vidáre pute*, meaning "white apple," and *vidáre lahor*, that is "sea-apple," both which names are Malay, and the plants very medicinal.[8] And in

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[1] See Garcia de Orta's *Colloquio XXX*; Linschoten, vol. i, pp. 122, 150, and footnotes.—D. F.

[2] Represented by modern Pahang.

[3] I cannot find *kalumbuk*, or anything like it, in Persian, Arabic, or Hindustani. [Johnson's *Pers.-Arab.-Eng. Dict.* has "P. *kalambak*, A fragrant kind of wood.—D. F.] *Ud* means lign aloes in all of them.

[4] "*Dire sin mucho error.*"

[5] Cf. what follows with Garcia de Orta's *Colloquio XLIX*, and Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 102-105.—D. F.

[6] The whole of this passage might be written to-day by people not stupid, nor ill-educated, but having had just about Teixeira's chances. He goes on to tell second-hand yarns about the sandalwood trade in Timor. One thing clear is, that Teixeira knew little or nothing about the sandalwood of Peninsular India, though it is the same plant.

[7] *Sic*: a misprint for *chandana*, which is the Sanskrit name.—D. F.

[8] Garcia de Orta (f. 33) says of the *ber* or *bor* fruits (fruits of *Zizyphus jujuba*, var.) that the Malays call them *vidaras*. The names mentioned by Teixeira are, as he says, Malay, or rather Javanese, the correct spelling being *widara putih* and *widara laut* ("*lahor*" being a misprint for "*lahot*," and the *h* being silent as in "*taheis*," *infra*. p. 226). His translation of the names is correct. Crawfurd's *Malay Dictionary* explains *bidara* (Malay), or *widara* (Jav.) as "name of an esculent fruit, *Zizyphus jujuba*"; and "*bidara lahut*" as "name of

Solor, a neighbouring island, is a wood which we call in Portuguese "Solor wood"; no less efficient; and an antidote against poisons, called *belyla*, after a Mahometan who discovered it. It is just like cobbler's wax, and much valued.[1]

[Then come some more remarks on the habits of the people of Timor, and on the sandalwood trade; the digression ending with an explanation of *dibá* (a rich kind of silk), and *maõ* (maund).]

CHAPTERS XXIII-XXVI.

[Chapters XXIII-XXVI are very short (the first occupying only eight lines), and the only digression is a small one in Chapter XXV, explanatory of the title *Babakhon*.]

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a plant." In Forbes's *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, pp. 497-523, will be found a pretty full *Prodromus Florœ Timorensis*, from which it appears (p. 502) that Timor possesses three varieties of *Zizyphus*, viz. *Z. celtidifolius*, DC.; *Z. timoriensis*, DC.; and *Z. jujuba*, Lam. Probably two of these are to be identified with the "white" and "sea" jujubes of Teixeira.—D. F.

[1] Solor is the small island between Timor and Flores, and must not be confounded with the island of Salayar off the south-west arm of Celebes (see Linschoten's "Map of the Eastern Seas" in *The Voyage of John Saris*, and the footnotes on pp. 11 and 205 of that book, the latter of which is, I think, erroneous). Ribeiro (*Fatal. Hist. de Ceilão*, p. 232) gives a very brief description of the island, in which, when he wrote his work (1685), the Portuguese still had a footing; and he couples it with Timor as producing sandal. A detailed description of Solor and Timor, and events in their history down to 1721, will be found in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, deel III, stuk ii, pp. 120-127 (see also map at p. 37). For further information on the two islands, see Crawfurd's *Dict. of the Indian Islands, s. vv.*; Stanford's *Compendium of Geography and Travel, Australasia*, vol. ii, pp. 368, 369 ff.; Forbes's *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, p. 415 *et seq.*; A. R. Wallace's *Malay Archipelago*, p. 141 *et seq.* The "*pao de Solor*" (Solor wood) was, I believe, the same as the "*pao da cobra*" (snake-wood) of which Garcia de Orta treats in his *Colloquio XLII* (see also Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 104), and of which he mentions three kinds. Prof. V. Ball says: "The identity of these is very doubtful, as the descriptions are rather vague. It is possible, however, that they may be identical with the following:—*Cocculus acuminatus*, D'C.; *Hemidesmus indicus*, R. Brown; *Strychnos colubrina*, Linn." (*Proc. of Royal Irish Acad.*, 3rd ser., vol. i, p. 656). I cannot identify "*belyla*"; but it is curious that in Malaysia one of the commonest names for beeswax, which has always formed a chief article of export from Timor, is Malay *lilin*. This, with a prefix, may be the origin of "*belyla*." I doubt the existence of Teixeira's alleged Muhammadan discoverer.—D. F.

CHAPTER XXVII.

[This chapter consists chiefly of a lengthy digression, beginning with a reference to Kermán, in connection with which the writer says :—]

In four parts of Persia there is much [rose-water] made ; the best is distilled in Xyraz and Yazd. Inferior sorts are made in Kermon and Duzgun,[1] by infusion and decoction, for which reason they are easily spoiled. In Persian, it is called either *gulab*, which means simply "rose-water," or *areka gul*, that is, "sweat of roses," a name fit enough for the distilled sorts. The decocted sorts are exported from Kermon yearly to all the East, in great quantities.

[Teixeira then takes up the subject of carpets, and, after giving some facts thereanent, goes on to say :—]

The name of *Al Catifa*, which we give in Portuguese [to carpets], arose before the kings of Harmuz settled in the isle of Gerun, where now they dwell, and call it after their ancient seat. The fairs and trade that are now there were then managed on another isle named Keis, as I have said in treating of Harmuz.[2] The Arab merchants who frequented it came and went by Katifa, a port on the Arabian mainland, in the province of Lasah,[3] and opposite the Isle of Barhen, and carried their goods thence to various parts. The carpets were among the chief articles of this trade, and when asked whence they brought these, they would say "Al Catifa,"[4] that is, "from Catifa," and hence the name would seem to have stuck to them. So, because seed-pearls are chiefly fished on the coast of Iulfar, a port in Arabia in the same Persian Gulf, they came to be called *Al Iulfar*—that is, "of Iulfar"—and we corrupt this a little into *aljofar*.[5]

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[1] On "Duzgun," see *supra*, p. 209, *n.*—D. F.

[2] See *supra*, p. 162, *et seq.*

[3] El Hasa, El Ahsa, of different maps. [See *supra*, pp. 29, 174.—D. F.]

[4] An ingenious and not unscientific bit of etymology. However, *katifa* is now Arabic for *velvet*, and Persian carpets have a pile, like velvet,—in some cases of silk. The etymological reader can form his own opinion.

[5] This derivation seems doubtful. [It is copied from G. de Orta, *op. cit.*, f. 138 *v.*—D. F.] For *jawhar* is Arabic for a pearl, and quite as near the Portuguese *aljofar*, as Julfar is. I cannot find this port on any modern map or chart. It sent fifty boats to the pearl fishery in Teixeira's time (see above, p. 176), which was half the strength of the Bahrein squadron, and equal to that of Bandar Nakhalu. I am inclined to conjecture that it may have been on the coast near Ras-al-Khaima. It is to be remembered here, that Teixeira's initial I probably represents the Arabic "Yá," *not* "Jim." [Regarding Julfar, see Barbosa, p. 34 ; Varthema, p. 93, *n.* ; *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. i, p. 246, *n.*, and Map of Arabia at p. 80 ; *Hist. of Imâms of 'Omân*, p. 322, *n.*—D. F.]

Kermon also produces *tutia*,[1] which the Persians in their own language call *tutyah*. It is found in that province alone, and there only in one mountain-range, distant from the city about twelve *farsanghes*, that is, six-and-thirty miles, whence it is exported to all the world in great quantities. It is made by kneading up the earth of the mountain with pure water, and covering therewith certain clay moulds. Next they bake these in furnaces like a potter's, draw them out when well baked, and strip them. What is stripped off is the *tutia*, which is afterwards carried in boxes to Harmuz, for sale. Those who buy it class it as stone *tutia*, whereof much is brought, or as dust. These are sold separately, but both are used and both effective.[2] The Doctor Garcia Dorta was ill-informed, who, in his Dialogues about the simples of India, says that *tutia* is made of the ashes of a tree and fruit called *gune*.[3] There is indeed a fruit in Persia which they call *gaon*,[4] of the size and shape of cherry-stones, covered with a green and yellow skin, which the natives eat as we do pine seeds. They say that its effect is very different

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[1] Cf. what follows with G. de Orta's *Colloquio LVI.* See also Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 130 ; and *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. xiii, N. S., p. 497.—D. F.

[2] "Tutty" does not seem now to be the name of any *ore* of zinc, but of a by-product of the brass-foundries. In this passage I take it to be either "blende" or "calamine stone," probably the latter. It is not now, I think, exported from Karmán by sea.

[3] G. de Orta (*op. cit.*, f. 216) spells the word *goan*. Dr. V. Ball, in *Proc. of the Royal Irish Acad.*, 3rd Series, vol. i, p. 678, says, referring to Garcia de Orta's statement :—"Its preparation from the ashes of wood is absurd. The sulphate may have been collected as an efflorescence from rocks in Persia, as it is known to be in Afghanistan now, and the oxide prepared from it by roasting."—D. F.

[4] This, by the description, should be the pistachio, *Pistacia vera*. I cannot verify this in the dictionaries, but Brandis has "Gewáun" as a vernacular name for *P. Khinjak*, a closely-allied tree of the same regions : it may be a local name for *P. vera*. [Mr. A. Houtum-Schindler, in his "Notes on Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia," in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. iii, N. S., p. 497, says :—"The name Túthá for collyrium is not now used in Kermán . . . The lampblack used as collyrium is always called Surmah. . . . In the high mountains of the province . . . Surmah is the root of the Gavan plant (Garcia's *goan*). This plant, a species of Astragalus, is on those mountains very fat and succulent ; from it also exudes the Tragacanth gum. The root is used dry, as an eye-powder, or mixed with tallow, as an eye-salve. It is occasionally collected on iron gratings. Túthá is the Arabicised word dúdhá, Persian for smokes. . . . Teixeira's Túthá was an impure oxide of zinc, perhaps the above-mentioned Túthá-i-safíd (white Túthá, apparently an argillaceous zinc ore), baked into cakes ; it was probably the East India Company's Lapis Túthá, also called Tutty."—D. F.]

from that of *tutia*, which is produced and prepared in Kermon as above said.

Kermon produces another thing no less useful, and found in no other country, that is, wormwood,[1] which we call in Portuguese *lonbriquera*[2] and the Persians in their tongue *dram nah Kermony*, meaning both a medicine of Kermon and a medicine against worms. For *dram nah* is the proper name of that drug,[3] and *Kermon* is equivocal, meaning either the kingdom of that name, or worms. Hence we call a dye *kermezy*, because of the worms that make the grain.

[Here follows a story of a prince and a skull, told by a famous Persian poet, Coaia Yafez, in which the word *kermon* is played on. Teixeira then proceeds :—]

Kermon also produces *surmah*, which is a certain stone, black and translucid, as if sprinkled with black sand. There are two sorts, one brought from Kermon and Karazon, which is the best and most esteemed; and another called *moky*, as coming from Meka or Moka, in the Red Sea.[4] The Arabs, Persians, and Indians all use this *surmáh* much against diseases of the eyes, to which they apply it, mixed with other simples; and also for mere ornament, both men and women, and they think themselves to look the better for it.

But not such was the opinion of a Persian lover, who saw his dear with her eyes so painted—no doubt fine dark eyes, as nearly all Persians have them, men and women. For he said to her, amongst other compliments, "*Chesm Siah dary Surmah che*

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[1] Some species of Artemisia, or "southernwood." The restriction of this drug to Karmán is very odd, as the genus and several efficient species are very widely distributed.

[2] *Sic*, for *lombrigueira*.—D. F.

[3] This I cannot verify, but *karm* (Pers.) does mean a worm or maggot, and Teixeira's derivation of *kermes* (a red dye) is one generally admitted. The "grain" in question is the little round lump produced on *Quercus coccifera* by the insect. [Johnson's *Pers. Dict.* gives *dirmana* = wormwood. As regards the dye, see *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. vv.* "Alkermes," "Cramoisy," "Crimson," "Grain," and "Kermes."—D. F.]

[4] The confusion of these two very distinct and distant cities is rather odd, and is one of a good many bits of evidence that one cannot depend much on Teixeira but as an eye-witness. [See also *infra*, Bk. II, chap. xxxi.—D. F.] The *surma* in question is the black antimony used throughout the East as an application to (or rather around) the eyes; and Teixeira's remark about Queen Jezebel is quite sound, and has been echoed by a good many who did not owe their opinions to him. The Spanish word that he uses for "painted" (*alcaholadas*) is itself derived from an Arabic word for the same drug, though he does not notice the etymology.

tacony?" as it were: "What dost thou with *surmah*, whose black eyes need none?" This must have been the cosmetic used by the perverse Iesabel, the wife of Achab, when she showed herself at the window with her eyes[1] painted, to please the captain who bade slay her. . . . . .

CHAPTER XXVIII.

[Chapter XXVIII contains no digression.]

CHAPTER XXIX.

[This chapter contains two digressions. The first, a very lengthy one, commences with a reference to the practice of hunting in Persia, and some remarks on the word *gur*. The writer then continues :—]

The commonest form of the chase, in Persia and other parts of the East, is the use of birds and four-footed beasts. With the birds they pursue other birds, as here, and also other creatures, such as deer, gazelles, hares, etc. And the way of it is this: that a trained falcon, or other bird of prey, cast off after such a creature, perches on its head between the horns, and pecks at its eyes, worrying and delaying it until the greyhounds come up and catch it. And with beasts they have several ways. They have *onsas*, or tame leopards,[2] which they take with them in their following in carts for that purpose. Private men carry them on their horses' croups, on steel plates, so that their claws may not hurt the horses. They have also many very good and swift greyhounds.

They have the same game as here, and some different, such as gazelles. These are a sort of deer, but more slender. Their horns are sharp, not forked,[3] but twisted like a screw. They have

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[1] "Face" in our English "Authorised Version," "eyes" in the Revised, as here. European *men* are not easily reconciled to this sort of ornament; but, after all, it is neither very ugly nor very dangerous.

[2] These, of course, were *chitas* (*Cynælurus jubatus*), and not "ounces" proper. From the mention of their having been carried on the horses' backs I suppose some to have been lynxes (*Felis Caracal*), lighter beasts, and so fitter for that position. Both are natives of Persia.

[3] "*Derechos*," which can only mean here that they are not forked. The usual meaning of "straight" is forbidden by the context, and untrue to nature. Teixeira's "gazelle" probably stands for several species that he must have seen, including perhaps the Indian black buck, which really has spiral horns. Those of gazelles are lyrate, more

great eyes, wonderfully expressive; and when a Persian boasts the bright eyes of a lady, he says that they are like a *gazál's*, for so they call the creature.[1] The flesh is very wholesome, and of good flavour.

There are some wild sheep, which the Persians call *págen*.[2] These, like the gazelles, wander always in rugged places, and are not very unlike our common sheep, but bigger and stouter, and of wonderful strength. I saw one harnessed to a bronze demi-falcon, which he drew without difficulty. They have horns like our sheep, but each as great as half the hoop of a wine pipe, thick, and reaching back so far as to cover their haunches. This is a provision of Nature, who has made them so that when chased by men and dogs they can safely jump down from cliff or crag, seeking ever the most perilous. And so they jump down horns foremost, roll over them, and escape in safety from their pursuers.[3]

[The hunting of deer with deer is then described: wild cows are mentioned, from whose tails are made *combalas* (*chámaras* or chowries); then the writer passes to elephants, describes the method of catching them, and relates other particulars concerning them; stating that in 1590, when João Correa de Brito was captain of the fortress of Columbo in Ceylon,[4] a female elephant at Seitavaca,[5] the court of Raiu, the last heathen king of that island, developed a pair of tusks, which the monarch regarded as a great token of luck. Teixeira then proceeds :—]

It is not true of the rhinoceros, which we call *bada*[6] in Portuguese, that he conquers the elephant,[7] for I have several times seen one to flee from the very sight of an elephant. These

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or less, but ringed with ridges, which may have suggested the idea of the screw. *G. subgutturosa* is the Persian species *par excellence*. [See *Eastern Persia*, vol. ii (by W. T. Blanford), p. 91.—D. F.]

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 193.—D. F.

[2] Cf. Appendix C, and see next footnote.—D. F.

[3] This is a very old story, told in many lands about many sheep and goats, and few authorities venture altogether to discredit it. But we may be allowed to suppose that even the most acrobatic of goats would go rather on his heels than on his head. I do not find "*pagen*" in dictionaries, but *pásang* is a long-known Persian name of this ibex, and Blanford gives *páchín* as a Baluch synonym (*Fauna of India*, Mammalia, *Capra ægagrus*). [See also *Eastern Persia*, vol. ii (by W. T. Blanford), p. 89.—D. F.]

[4] He was appointed to this post in 1581, but did not take it up until the end of 1583. He defended Columbo successfully against the successive attacks of "Rajú" (Rája Sinha I), until 1590, when he was succeeded by Simão de Brito.—D. F.

[5] See footnote, *infra*, chap. xxxv.—D. F.

[6] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Abada."—D. F.

[7] Cf. this and what follows with Garcia de Orta, ff. 88 *v* and 128; and Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 8-11.—D. F.

animals are sometimes hunted in the East. Their horns are really of great virtue against poisons and other ills,[1] and especially those of animals killed in Bengala, Orracam, and Siam. Those of Africa, though greater, are not held as good.

[Then come some observations on tigers in Malabar, Bengal, and Malacca, with a description of how they were killed in the island of Mannár, off Ceylon. (There are, as a fact, no tigers in any part of Ceylon.) Fishing is the next subject dealt with; and the methods of catching fish and waterfowl on the River Indus are described. Our author then proceeds :—]

In[2] the strait of Sincapura and Romanya,[3] which is between Malaca and Ior, toward the south, the Seletes,[4] which are a certain people that are born, bred, and live on the sea in very little boats, gaining their living sometimes by fishing and at others by robbing; sell the fish that go swimming under the water; and, having settled the price, get it out and deliver it to the buyer, being so dexterous and sure thereat that they never miss. The same is said to take place in China, at Canton. These Seletes, when they give a daughter in marriage, give her as a dowry one of those little boats, with two oars and a gaff; and the bride and bridegroom being placed therein, they commit them to the current of the tide, by which they let themselves be carried until they come to land; and there where they touch is the place of their habitation when they are on land: that is, if it be not occupied by others, which if it is, they continue to follow the waves until they pitch upon a free spot. . . . . .

[Fishing in Japan is then referred to; after which comes the following :—]

In the Bay of Mascate there is great plenty of fish. This place is an Arab settlement, with a Portuguese fortress, on the Arabian coast, within the Persian Gulf; standing in 23½ degrees north latitude, that is, right under the Tropic of Cancer.[5] The fish are

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[1] See *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (Hakluyt Soc.), p. 290 and footnote.—D. F.

[2] I am responsible for the translation of this paragraph, which Mr. Sinclair intended to insert here, as a note left by him shows.—D. F.

[3] See *supra*, p. 3.—D. F.

[4] The "Cellates" of Barros, who describes them in much the same language as that of Teixeira (*Dec. II*, Liv. VI, cap. i). Our author refers to these sea-dwellers in his *Voyage* (p. 3, *supra*). The name appears to be derived from Malay *sálat*=strait, or *sálatan*=south, southern. They are now known by the name of *oráng-laut*="men of the sea," or "sea people" (see Crawfurd's *Dictionary of the Ind. Islands, s. v.*).—D. F.

[5] Not quite: "Fisher's Rock" is in 23 deg. 38 min. N. lat., 58 deg. 36 min. E. lon., and is "the bench mark."

dried and sent over all India, and so abundant and easy to catch that often a hungry cat will come down to the beach and lay her tail in the water, to which the little fishes come and take hold of it. When she feels them fast, with a whisk of her tail she lays them high and dry, and satisfies her appetite. This seems strange, but less so if one considers what curious means of providing for themselves many animals have discovered. And this may be found the more credible from what befell myself in that very bay in the year 1587, when I was there in a fleet.[1] I happened to see the galley-slaves fishing, with no more tackle than their hands, which they dipped in the water, and pulled out the fish. I wondered, and on asking I learnt that they tied a little bit of fish within the thumb, which the fishes came to nibble at, and so were seized in the hand and pulled out. To make sure, I did so myself, and caught several.[2]

There are in the East the hypopothamos, the ox-fish, the pig-fish, and one called the woman-fish, for that it much resembles one in the shape of the sexual organ.

> [Teixeira then refers to the abominable use of this fish by certain Moors on the coast of Melinde, the truth of which he vouches for from his personal inquiries when in those parts.[3] He continues :—]

Of the bones of this fish they make, commonly, rosaries, rings, and other trinkets, much valued in India because they are said to be of great virtue in checking any flow of blood. But I for many years made careful trial of this, and of other things that the Indian people put forth as miraculous, and had no profit of it; though I confess that there are in the East many drugs of admirable virtue and strange properties.[4]

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[1] As to how he came there, see Introduction. Teixeira visited Máskat again in 1604 (see *supra*, p. 18).—D. F.

[2] Máskat has always been famous for the multitude of its sea-fish, and still exports a good deal. The story of the galley-slaves is probable enough, especially if we remember that they must have been negroes or Asiatics, and mostly of maritime races. I have myself seen and done such things, but the fish caught were mere fry. As for the cats, I know that fish are sometimes foolish enough for this story to be true, but I doubt the cat's being clever enough. [Cf. Ant. Galvão, p. 102.—D. F.]

[3] Antonio Galvão makes the same assertion (see Hakluyt Soc. ed. of *Discoveries of the World*, p. 43, where the translator of 1601 and the editor of 1862 have conspired to misinterpret ludicrously the original).—D. F.

[4] Of these four "fishes" the hippopotamus requires no notice, and I cannot identify the "*pesce buey*," or ox-fish; possibly a "horned ray." [Perhaps *Ostracion quadricorne* (see *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. v.* "Cow-fish").—D. F.] The pig-fish may be supposed to be a porpoise.

There are many and terrible crocodiles in various Eastern countries, as in Africa in the rivers of Cuama and many others; in the Ganges in Bengal; in Pegu and Tanasarin; and much more and greater in Malaca, where there is scarce a day that they do not carry off people in the river.[1] For as the natives use the river much, are constantly in it to wash themselves, or for other purposes, the crocodile comes quietly, and catches his man by the legs, and carries him off without anyone being able to interfere, because the victim is dragged under water, and no more seen of him. A few crocodiles are caught sometimes, but in no proportion to their great number.

When Don Iuan de Gama, brother of the Count of Vedigueyra, was Governor of that fortress of Malaca,[2] there was there a native of that country who would sometimes betake himself to the river San Geronimo, that bathes the walls of the city, and repeat certain words, upon which the crocodiles came to him. Then, with more words, he would take one or two of them, put ropes about their necks, and lead them off through the city. When they had come to the Captain's house he bade them salute, and they did so; and then he took them back to the river, and turned them loose, and they went away harmlessly and quietly. This he did several times; but at last he probably made some mistake in his incantation. For, as he turned loose a crocodile, of a pair that he had brought down to the river, it took leave of him with a stroke of its tail over the head, and laid him dead on the spot.[3]

The royal Prophet[4] assures us that such witchcrafts are possible; and, besides his word for this, we see them commonly in India. For the Gentiles there are wont to carry through the streets and houses bewitched serpents, some of them very great and dreadful. These they make dance to the sound of a flute, and coil them

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[See *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. v.* "Hog-fish."—D. F.] And the woman-fish must be the dugong (*Halicore*). The belief that various bones and stones can prevent bleeding is still current in the East, with a lot of similar *kabala*, or mystic "hocus-pocus," about which Asiatics are usually very shy of talking to Englishmen, for fear of mockery. *Vide* our own *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. iii, pp. x, 62, for another etymology.

[1] Cf. Linschoten, vol. i, p. 93; vol. ii, p. 15.—D. F.

[2] He held the post from 1580, or a little earlier, until December, 1582.—D. F.

[3] There is probably some foundation of fact for this story, absurd as it appears in its present dress. It will be noticed that Teixeira does not speak as an eye-witness. But there is no kind of humbug that people will not practice and believe about such matters, and no limit to the growth of the stories. As a matter of fact, a half-mad fakir did once bring a young crocodile before myself, and make it "salám," by force.

[4] In Psalm lviii, 4, 5.

around their own necks, and do other posturings with them, handling them unhurt. And though some say that this is because the snakes have no fangs, which are drawn while they are young, experience shows the contrary. For several times, when provoked, or not fully bound by the spell, they have been known to do much harm amongst the spectators.[1]

Having said so much about the crocodiles, there occurs to me the case of one, worth knowing, which at the reader's pleasure may pass with the rest, for that it is true. Francisco de Silva de Menezes, who was Captain and Governor of Malaca,[2] sent to Don Francisco Tello de Menezes, Governor of the Felipinas,[3] a present whereof one item was a little young elephant with his *cornaque*,[4] that is, the Indian who managed him. This elephant out at pasture in the Isle of Manilla felt thirsty, and went to drink at the river of Parannaque,[5] which was near. When he went into the water, there came a crocodile, and took him by one fore-foot so tight, that with all his strength, do what he might, the elephant could not get rid of him; until, in great pain and wrath, he put his trunk under water, and about the crocodile, and dragged him ashore, where he had enough to do with him. But at last he held the crocodile down, with one fore-foot on his breast, and quartered him, pulling off the legs with his trunk. A few days after this happened, in June, 1600, I found myself in that very place, on the river of Parannaque.[6]

[The author adds that he had been told of another fight between a tiger and a crocodile in the river of Cuama.]

In the kingdom of Champa, which lies between Comboia and

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[1] In India, west of the Ganges, the performing snakes' fangs are usually drawn, but grow again; and as the poison is always there, and the ordinary teeth can scratch, the extraction does not make the snake "safe" to handle. The Burmese snake-charmers are said never to meddle with the fangs; and such accidents as Teixeira mentions, though uncommon, are still quite possible.

[2] To the beginning of 1599, when he was succeeded, apparently, by Martin Affonso de Mello (see Couto, *Dec. XII*, Liv. I, cap. xvi; and p. 1, *n.*, *supra*). From a royal letter of 1605 (in *Doc. Rem.*, tom. I, p. 41), it appears that he got into trouble for not looking after the China fleet on the voyage from Malacca.—D. F.

[3] Couto (*Dec. XII*, Liv. II, cap. xi) mentions him as Governor of Manila in 1598.—D. F.

[4] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Cornac."—D. F.

[5] Parannaque is on modern maps, as a southern suburb of Manila. The expression, "*Isle* of Manilla," probably refers to the fact that part of the coast, including Paranaque, is isolated by creeks, more or less.

[6] See Introduction.—D. F.

Cochin China, and all along the coast of the Indian South Sea,[1] there are bred certain birds, not unlike swallows, which breed at a certain season, and during their nuptials cast forth from their bills a sticky saliva; whereof, taught by provident Nature, they make nests on the steep rocks and crags, with wonderful skill, casting it one after the other until it comes, when dry, to be a nest, of the shape of a great ladle, with unusually high sides. Their love-making and their nest are finished at about the same time, and they lay their eggs in it, and hatch their young.

These nests are so abundant that there are gathered of them yearly many *picos*, or quintals, which are exported to China, where the Chinamen buy them to eat, at fifty *taheis*,[2] which make about one hundred ducats for the quintal, or more than that. For they say that they are very good for the brain and belly; and some Portuguese who have eaten of the same do not speak ill of them, but praise them highly.

In the year 1597, when I was sailing from Goa to Malaca,[3] in the waters whereof we experienced great calms, I wished to see an islet to which we lay near, called Pulo Iarra, that is, the Isle of Iarra.[4] I landed there, and saw and noted, amongst other things, these birds and their nests. Of these last I brought away a good lot to the ship, and to Malaca, where I gave them to the Chincheos,[5] who valued them much.

Nor can I think less wonderful the matter of some hens, in the parts of Maluco, whose eggs, if set in a box or closed place, hatch out chickens in a few days, with no help but of their

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[1] "The text runs "*Comboia y Cochin China en el mar del sur de la India por toda la costa del Mardel*," etc. "Comboia" is "Cambodia," and Champa *was* the region between Saigon and Cochin China, but the French have probably rechristened it. [See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Champa."—D. F.] "Mardel" is no place at all, but simply a writer's or printer's error, beginning to repeat "*mar del sur*," etc., and stopping short. The passage as rendered states the facts as they are, and as the traveller (who was better informed on the subject than many great naturalists of later days) clearly meant to state them. The edible nests *are* found on the whole Southern coast of the East Indies, from British India, north of Goa, to the China Seas, and they are built as he describes the process. The birds are species of *Collocalia*.

[2] That is, taels. The usual Portuguese plural form of *tael* is *taeis*; Teixeira's interjected *h* does not alter the pronunciation (cf. note on p. 215, *supra*).—D. F.

[3] See Introduction.—D. F.

[4] Probably Pulo Jarak, near the middle of Malacca Strait, in 3 deg. 59 min. N. lat., 100 deg. 5½ min. E. long. It is "precipitous, thickly wooded," and in a general way just the island for the birds, and for the little adventure (*China Sea Directory*, vol. i, p. 166, 4th ed., 1896).

[5] Japanese? [Rather, Chinese of Fuh-kien (see *supra*, pp. 3 and 7). Stevens has "*Chineses*."—D. F.]

natural virtue. And if they are not looked to, when their place is opened they fly away.[1]

[Teixeira then returns to his history; but after a few pages again digresses on the subject of Arabia, the most valuable product of which he speaks of as follows :—]

Incense,[2] which the Persians call *kondoruch*, and Arabs *loban*. From this last name comes that of Benioyn, which they call *loban Iaoy*—that, is, "incense of Iaoa"—and we corruptly Benioyn.[3] This is found in various places, as Pegu, in the kingdom of Olanion, where it is abundant and of good quality, Siam and Camboia, where the Javans do a great trade in it; in Sunda, and in Samatra, where it is very white, and highly valued; [and it might be gathered in the forests of Malaca if they looked for it, since there is no lack of it there.]

But the incense comes only from Arabia, and Dofar[4] is the district where it is best and most plentiful.

There is also carried by the Red Sea from Arabia to India and the East much of that gum which we call amber, and physicians *xarabe*, both rough and made up. The last name is taken from the Arabic *karobah*,[5] and that from *kaf*, meaning straw, and *robah*, to lift or attract. It is a very fit name, for the amber has that power. On the coast of Melinde there is got a gum very like this, called *sandaroz*.[6] Arabia produces some myrrh, though most of it is collected on the other side of the Red Sea, in Ethiopia of Africa. There is no want of it on the coast of Melinde, where they call it commonly *bolo*, and the Guzurates of

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[1] This is rather an odd story, and the traveller is justified in his wonder. But it seems to be based on some observation of the eggs of a megapode, probably *Megacephalon maleo*. This bird lays its eggs in the sand of the shore, like a turtle, and doubtless they could be hatched as described, as I have often hatched out turtles' eggs.

[2] Cf. what follows with G. de Orta's *Colloquio LV*, and Linschoten, chap. 72.—D. F.

[3] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Benjamin."—D. F.

[4] Probably the modern Dhofar, the south-western extremity of the State of Máskat. [See *supra*, p. 159, *n.*—D. F.] There is now more got from Somaliland. The subject is too big for a note, and has been amply treated of by others.

[5] *Káhrabá.* This derivation is in modern dictionaries, with slight alteration from Teixeira's statement. The amber was probably of northern origin.

[6] Garcia de Orta (f. 43) speaks of "a gum called *chamderros*, which resembles crude amber;" and Ribeiro (*Fatal. Hist. de Ceilão*, Liv. I, cap. xi) says: "There is another [resin] that is produced in the low lands, very clear and transparent, of the colour of amber; the natives use it in many medicaments, and throughout the whole of India it fetches a good price, where they call it *chandarrús*." The substance referred to by Ribeiro is the *dummala*, or resin of Ceylon, possibly that dug out of the earth. The name he mentions, however, of which

Cambay *regata* sola. The Arabs call it *morra*: not a proper name, but a common word meaning bitter. Because myrrh is so much so, they have given it that name, which the Latins have fitted to their own language.[2] The Persians call it, *morrisad*, that is, "bitters, good against the windy colic." Our common people confuse myrrh with Momia, but the Arabs and Persians make the proper distinction: the Arabs call Momia *mumyaii*, and the Persians *momiahy*.[3]

'Although a great part of Arabia is sterile, the remainder is fertile and well supplied.' Throughout Arabia is found that famous medicine which physicians call *schenu anthos*, and we Camel's Straw, or Meka Straw.[4] Either name suits it well, for Meka is in Arabia, and the grass is forage for camels.[5]

[Then come some facts regarding Arabia, the dry, hot wind called *surim*, that in summer blows on the coast opposite to Persia: the inhabitants on the sea coast, a miserably poor people, living on dried fish, dates and lime juice, and consequently afflicted with leprosy; and the statement that Arabia produces an incredible quantity of dates and very fine horses. The history is then resumed, and the chapter ends.]

CHAPTERS XXX-XXXII.

Chapters XXX-XXXII contain no digressions, but Chapter XXXIII consists of little else.]

García de Orta and Teixeira give variants, is Arabic and Hindustani *sindarús*, *sandaros*, *sundaros*, and is known in Europe as "gum *sandarach*."—D. F.

[1] Possibly this represents "*Raghat*," or *rakhta*, that is "bloody," or "red." *Bol* is still Persian, and found in several Indian languages, including Gujarátí. [Cf. G. de Orta, f. 214; Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 99. —D. F.]

[2] This derivation is so far supported by modern Arabic dictionaries that *murr* does mean bitter. Compare Hebrew *Mára*.

[3] All these words mean Egyptian mummy, or rather its drugs and dressings. *Mum* probably means "wax," and such substances, in Persian, and in modern Indian languages.

[4] A pungent grass, *Andropogon laniger*, growing throughout the northern sub-tropical region of the old world, and long used in even European pharmacy. [The facts given by Teixeira are virtually copied from G. de Orta, f. 197.—D. F.]

[5] As a specimen of the liberties taken by Stevens with his original, and of the absurdities (many due to the printers) that are found in his translation, I quote his version of the above paragraph:—"Tho' a great Part of *Arabia* be barren, all the rest is fertil and plentiful, and every where abounds in that famous Medicine, our Physicians call *Schenu Anthos*, and vulgarly *Squinend*, or Camels Meat, because the Camels feed on it, and the *Spaniards* give it the name of *Paja Mecca* Straw, as growing about Mecca in *Arabia*." I need only add, that *paja* is the Spanish for "straw," a fact of which Captain Stevens was, of course, aware. D. F.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

[The first diversion is on the province of Nixabur, producing the Turkish stones (turquoises), the mention of which leads our author to speak of bezoar stones. He says :—]

The Persians call any stone *sangh*, and the Arabs *ager*.[1] But the Persians distinguish the bezar stone[2] as *pâ zahar*, meaning "an antidote against poison," from *zahar*, poison, and *pa*, a cure. In Arabic there is no letter *P*, but *B* or *F* takes its place, so *pazahar* becomes *bazahar*, which we corrupt a little more into bezar. This is the real meaning, and not that the stones are sold in the bazar or market, because they never are sold there.

There is in the province of Parc or Persia[3] a well-known district called Sthabanon, from a city of that name therein, three days' march from Lara.[4] Its pastures abound in a plant like saffron, and feed many sheep, in whose stomachs these stones are produced. They are the best of all, and of such cost that Xá Abás, King of Persia, keeps guards there, to secure for himself all above a certain size, as the King of Pegu doth in his land in respect of gems. These sheep are somewhat different from ours, and it is known when they bear the stones, because, according to the number and size of these, they suffer and are sluggish, or are active.[5] The chief cause of the stones is that pasture, for the same sheep do not bear them on other lands.

[Then comes a statement that all the inhabitants of the province of Sthabanon are bald-headed : of which fact a servant of Sháh Abbás took advantage, by obtaining the royal permission to levy a poll-tax on every bald pate.]

Besides those Persian bezar stones, there are some also in

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[1] *Hajar:* the pronunciation of Teixeira's "*ager*" would be the same in his phonetic system. The Persian word appears in the everlasting "*sangas*" of Indian border war, which are stone breastworks, and the Arabic in a rather odd place, the West African coast, where it characterises the "aggry bead."

[2] Cf. what follows with G. de Orta, *Colloquio XLV*, and f. 225 *v* ; Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 142-145. See also Baldæus, *Malabar and Coromandel*, chap. xxiv.—D. F.

[3] Now usually called "Fars." [See p. 240, *infra*.—D. F.]

[4] Not now identifiable. The saffron plant, of course, is a crocus. ["Sthabanon," its "*pagens*" and bald inhabitants, are again mentioned by Teixeira in his *Brief Account of the Provinces of Persia* (see *infra*, Appendix C). The province and town in question are entered in the Survey of India Map as "Savonat" and "Savonat or Istabonat" respectively. The town lies in about 54 deg. E., 29 N., to the south-east of Lake Niris, and is about 100 miles in a direct line north-west of Lár (rather more by the road *viâ* Darab). I cannot find any confirmation of the statements our author makes in connection with this province.—D. F.]

[5] *I.e.*, when not suffering from the stone.

India, and the second best are those of the Isle of Cows, near Manar, between Seylan and the coast of Choromandel.[1] These are produced in goats, and sometimes there are as many as thirteen in one goat, and those not very small. Here in this isle it was well seen that the pasture is the cause of the stones. For when, in 1585 A.D., there was a terrible sea-flood all along the coast, that Isle of Cows was drowned outright, and the pastures ruined by its remaining water-logged with salt water.[2] The goats, carried elsewhere to graze, produced no more stones; but after some years the soil recovered its quality, the salt wasted away, and good pasture sprang up; the goats came back to the isle, and they produced stones as before.

The third quality of these stones includes those from the south, that is, from Malaca, Pam, Patane, Sunda, Borneo, Maniar Macem,[3] *et cetera*, where they abound. But the best are the Persian, and I have seen wonders wrought with them in cases of poisoning.

These stones are sometimes counterfeited, but it is easy to know them, by either of two tests. The first is to take in one's hand a little lime worked up with water, and sprinkle the stone therewith, and if the lime turns yellow, and the stone is not wasted, it is genuine. The second test is better and surer, that is, to weigh the stone, put it into a vessel of water, leave it there six or seven hours, take it out, and weigh it again. If it keeps its form and weight, it is good, but if it breaks up, or melts, or gains weight, it is counterfeit.

The *pazar* stone is used with good effect in all cases of internal poisoning and of poisoned wounds, and in short against all ills. The Persians take it as a preventative, in March, beginning on the 20th, which they call *Neu Rus*, meaning New Day, because their solar year is counted from that day.[4] I have seen many bezares

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[1] The *Ilha das Vacas* referred to (not to be confused with the one off Cambay) is Neduntívu, or Delft (as the Dutch named it). See Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. xliv (of English translation in Churchill's Collection, vol. iii), *Malabar and Coromandel*, chap. xxiv; also Garcia de Orta, ff. 169 *v*, 225 *v*. The horse-breeding experiment begun by the Portuguese on this island, and continued by the Dutch and British, has, after a long period of neglect, been recently revived by the Ceylon Government.—D. F.

[2] These islands off the north-west of Ceylon are liable to such inundations. Baldæus (*u. s.*) records one that occurred in 1658. I have found no other reference to the overflow mentioned by Teixeira. —D. F.

[3] "Pam" is now Pahang, celebrated by Mr. Clifford, and Maniar Macem is generally called on our maps "Banjarmasin," with variations. [See *supra*, p. 4.—D. F.].

[4] This is quite independent of the religious chronology of Islám starting from the Hijra, or Flight, in which the year is so short that any given festival works steadily backwards on our calendars.

in the city of Mexico in America, which the natives call Tenus Titlan, meaning "the city of prickly pears,"[2] the fruit of that bush on which the cochenilla is bred. If these were of quality equal to their size, they would be almost priceless, but they are all nearly inert, and so of no value. The largest perfect *pazar* stone, of many that I saw in Persia, weighed seventeen meticals and a half, or two ounces and a half, a little more or less.

[Teixeira then says that from a mountain in the province of Sthabanon issued a liquid called by the Persians *momnahy kony*, or "precious mummy produced by the earth," and highly prized for its healing properties. Another antidote, *pazar khony*, from Masulipatam, is mentioned, and our author continues:—]

Many other medicinal stones are produced in the bellies of beasts, as that of monkey, very like the *pazar*, that of the deer, which is brought from Solor, as big as a tennis-ball,[2] crusty and scaly without, spongy and fibrous within, and rather bitter.

Above all, there is the stone of the porcupine,[3] which grows in his belly, of such excellent virtue that only such as have tried it can believe it without a doubt. Whereof I am a good witness, having seen its effect at different times and in various places, and especially in the city of Cochin, in the years 1590 and 1591. The Governor[4] there used up two such stones in the service of the poor, working wonders against a disease more dangerous and violent than the plague, which lasted for two whole years, and carried people off in four or five hours.[5] This was a choleraic complaint, which the Indians call *morxy*, and the Portuguese

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[1] Original, *Tunas*.—D. F.

[2] "*Pelota flamenca*." I have followed Stevens's translation.

[3] Regarding the *pedra do porco*, or hogstone, see Garcia de Orta, f. 225 *v*; Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 144; Baldæus, *Malabar and Coromandel*, chap. xxiv.—D. F.

[4] The original has "*el governador que alli era*" ("the Governor who was there"). There was only one "Governor" in India at the time, viz., Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, who vacated the office on the arrival of the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, on May 15th, 1591. But, as Teixeira wrongly describes Manoel de Sousa Coutinho as "Viceroy" (see *supra*, p. 210), so, I think, in this place by "Governor" he means the Captain of Cochin. The holder of that important post at the period mentioned was, apparently, Dom Jeronimo Mascarenhas, nephew of a former Viceroy, D. Francisco Mascarenhas (see *Arch. Port. Or.*, fasc. 3, p. 261). If so, the incident recorded of him by Teixeira is in pleasing contrast to the picture drawn by Couto, whose history reveals him as a man of a violent temper, and arrogant of his rank (see Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. II, cap. xi; Liv. IV, cap. xii; Liv. VII, caps. iv-vi; cf. also Linschoten, vol. ii, p. 172).—D. F.

[5] I can find no reference in any of the contemporary documents to this epidemic (Couto's *Decade* covering this period is, unhappily, lost). —D. F.

mordexim.[1] An infusion of this stone in water is effective in all maladies, and may be safely given in all, except to pregnant women, in whose case some inconvenience may result from its extreme bitterness. These stones are produced in Syaka, a realm very near that of Malaca;[2] and are sold, like *pazars* of those parts, by *mazes*,[3] each of three-sixteenths of an ounce, a grain or so more or less. In order to see whether the beasts which produce these stones agreed with their name, I procured one from Syaka while I was in Malaca, and found it to be a porcupine, just like the common sort.[4]

[Another medicinal stone, Teixeira says, is called "of the islands," or "of Cananor." He then speaks of diamonds, describing the method of obtaining them in the kingdom of Lave (in Borneo), where the fine *rota* (rattan) and the pure camphor are found.[5] Then other precious stones are spoken of, including rubies, cat's-eyes, and coco-stones. In connection with the hardness of diamonds, Teixeira says:—]

I remember, on the coast of Choromandel, and in Malaca, a little weed of no esteem that grows in the streets. If its tender roots be chewed, so that the teeth remain moist with its juice, and any stone, however hard, be chewed after it, the stone is reduced to dust so easily as not to hurt the teeth, or do any harm; as proved many times in my own person, and by means of others; which surely should make us all praise the Creator, who has granted such power to a weed.[6]

No less wonderful is another plant, which was given in the Isle of Seylan to a Captain of Columbo's wife.[7] It was like an ear of barley, but black and hairy. Such was its effect in facilitating childbirth, that if good care were not taken to remove it from

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[1] Asiatic cholera. [See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Mort-de-chien."—D. F.]

[2] In Linschoten's Map of the Eastern Seas, "Siaqa" is shown on the east coast of Sumatra, opposite to Malacca. Barros calls it "Ciáca." It is the Malay state of Siyak.—D. F.

[3] The *másá* or *máshá* of India.

[4] *Hystrix cristata* is the European and North African porcupine. It may well have been more abundant in Spain in Teixeira's day than now. The Malacca species is now distinguished as *H. longicauda*.

[5] See *supra*, p. 5.—D. F.

[6] I cannot identify this "weed."—D. F.

[7] The captain of Columbo, whose wife is here spoken of, was probably João Correa de Brito, referred to above (p. 221). According to Teixeira's own statement further on, the incident here recorded took place before his visit to Ceylon, which, as we have seen (p. 210), occurred at the end of February, 1588. It must, therefore, have happened between October, 1587, and February, 1588.—D. F.

the thigh[1] at the moment of birth, the bowels would follow the babe.[2] This has been proven a thousand times; and I am witness of the case of that very lady who owned it. When she was with child, she got it back from a borrower and put it in a box, which her slave put under the lady's bed. It happened that she miscarried, with such a flow of blood as could not be checked, and she was like to die, and prayed for the sacrament. In preparation for this, something was wanted out of that box, which was opened, and the herb found in it. They thought that its power might have been such as to affect the patient, and took it to another house. The bleeding ceased at once, and the lady was cured completely without any return of it. This happened in Goa, and I was present.[3] I have not named these herbs, because the first has none, and the possessor of the other knew none for it; and though I made inquiry afterwards when I was in Seylan, none could tell me about it. I pass by another which, if thrown into a vessel of water, curdles it;[4] and yet more of wonderful qualities, found in the East, as foreign to the matter in hand.

[The *lapis judaicus* and the *lapis lazuli* are then spoken of; and the writer proceeds :—]

In the Gulf of Persia, near the Isle of Gerun or Harmuz,

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[1] *Muslo.*

[2] The Abbé Le Grand, in his Addition to chap. iii, Bk. I, of Ribeiro's *History of Ceylon*, says :—" Texeira [*sic*] dit qu'il croît dans l'Isle de Ceylan une herbe qui porte un épi semblabe [*sic*] à l'épi d'orge, mais plus noir & plus barbu, qui étant appliqué sur le ventre d'une femme grosse, la fait accoucher aussi-tôt; & il ajoûte que si on l'y laissoit trop long-tems, l'enfant tomberoit par morceaux, & que la femme auroit une perte de sang que rien ne pourroit guerir. Feu Monsieur Hermans [*sic*] Docteur en Medecine, & qui à son retour de Ceylan a donné au public une description exacte des plantes, herbes & fleurs que l'on cultive, ou qu'on tâche d'élever dans le Jardin de Leyde, a fait graver une plante, que les Chingulais appellent *Adhatoda*, & qu'il pretend être l'*Ecbolium* des Grecs; laquelle a presque la même vertu que Texeira [*sic*] attribuë à cette herbe qu'il ne nomme point." It will be noticed that Le Grand does not quote Teixeira quite correctly. His reference, as he shows in a footnote, is to Hermann's *Hortus Acad. Lugduno-Batav.*, p. 642. The virtue attributed by Hermann to *Adhatoda vasica* is imaginary.—D. F.

[3] " *Yo me hallé presente.*" The thing was probably ergot of rye, or some other grain; and there is no reason to doubt the truth of this narrative, though the conclusion is a funny abuse of the " post hoc ergo propter hoc."

[4] This property of some drugs is known to modern chemists. Possibly that in question was a *salep*. These form a thick jelly, with even forty parts of water, and are still great favourites in the East.

much stone is quarried from under sea,[1] which the inhabitants use in building, because it is very light.[2] They call it *sangh may*, that is, fish stone,[3] because it grows at the bottom of the sea, and is light. But the wonder about it is that it grows again as fast as quarried. The same is found in the Sea of Malaca, where the Portuguese use it, less as building stone than to make lime, which they report to be very good.

Before I close this chapter, I would like to mention three or four things worth noting. The first is of a monkey that I saw, in whose thigh was found a *pazar* stone, and on breaking up this, to see its centre or nucleus, an iron arrow-head: for all those stones are built up around some central object, such as a straw, weed, twig, or sometimes a date-stone. A similar case was that when in Harmuz I would examine a *xamama* of amber, that is a natural ball of it,[4] and pricked it with a hot needle; it split in two, and in the middle I found a little bird's beak and some feathers, and fragments of shells: which amazed not only me, but others of much experience in such matters.[5]

[Teixeira here harks back to the hog-stone, ápropos of which he relates two more of his "medical" stories, and in connection with the second says:—]

In all India there is but one tree that is leafless in the rains, and it and its fruit are called *ambare*.[6]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

[Chapter XXXIV contains no digressions.]

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[1] See *supra*, p. 167.—D. F.

[2] Or "free in working" ("*liviana para fabrica*"). Stevens translates "soft."

[3] *Sang mahi*, rightly translated. Presumably coral, but the Portuguese used the produce of reef-building annelides in the same way on the Thana coast, where there are few corals, and none massive. [The Dutch fort at Jaffna, in the north of Ceylon, like the Portuguese one that preceded it, is built of coral stones.—D. F.]

[4] According to Johnson's *Pers.-Arab.-Eng. Dict.*, Pers. *shamáma*= "a perfumed pastile."—D. F.

[5] This is a little beyond a mere "fly in amber." It has to be remembered that perhaps Teixeira's drug was *ambergris*.

[6] *Spondias mangifera*, sometimes called in English "hog-plum," the West Indian name of another plant. *Ambára* is a Marathi name for it, and it comes into leaf much later in the rains than other trees. [Garcia de Orta, on f. 26 of his *Colloquios*, describes the fruit under the name of *ambares*, but says nothing of the tree.—D. F.]

CHAPTER XXXV.

[Chapter XXXV contains a number of digressions.

The first, in connection with Samarkand, treats of Teymur Langh, or Tamerlane, and the Grand Mogul. Our author then speaks of Boaly or Avicenna; and this leads him to the subject of physicians in the East, of whom he writes as if himself one of the fraternity.

He then resumes his history, but presently goes off on the subject of Selandyve or Ceylon, beginning by repeating the old fable about the Chinese colonization of Ceylon, and the origin of the Chingalas.[1] The ports of Gale, Chylao, with its pearl fishery, and Columbo, whose fort the Portuguese had bravely defended against the native kings,[2] are mentioned; and the writer continues :—]

Seylan bears no gold, silver, nor any valuable metal, nor precious stones, except the very finest cat's-eyes and a few rubies, as to which it is doubtful whether they be native or imported. It has ivory, great cardamoms, and much areka, which is Avicena's *fufel;* but is chiefly famous for its cinnamon, far excelling that of all other lands, and of very various quality within the isle itself.[3] The best is that of the jungles of Columbo and Seytavaca, a principal seat of the old native kings, but now mostly possessed by the Portuguese.[4] That of the forests of Candia, a kingdom of the same isle, is worth less. Next comes what the Portuguese call the jungle cinnamon,[5] the best of which comes from that of Coulan,[6] and an inferior sort from that of Cochin.

There is also cinnamon in the Isle of Thimor, whence the white sandalwood is brought; in Cochin China, whence comes the eaglewood; and in the Isle of Mindanao, near the Malucos [(where

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[1] See Barros, *Dec. III*, Liv. II, cap. i.—D. F.

[2] See foot-note *supra*, p. 221.—D. F.

[3] Cf. what follows with Garcia de Orta's *Colloquio XV*, and Linschoten, vol. ii, pp. 76-78.—D. F.

[4] Cf. *supra*, p. 221. Sítáwaka—the legendary jungle fastness to which the ravished Síta was conveyed by Rávana—the royal city of the latter half of the sixteenth century, and the scene of many a contest between the Sinhalese and Portuguese, has disappeared from the maps; and all that remains of its former grandeur are some ruins, which have recently been cleared by the Ceylon Archæological Commissioner (see his *Report on the Kégalla District*, 1892, pp. 62-65; and H. White's "Sítávaka and its Vicinity," in the *Orientalist*, vol. ii, p. 33 ff.).—D. F.

[5] *Canela do mato*, a name adopted by the Dutch as a commercial term from the Portuguese.—D. F.

[6] Quilon.—D. F.

is no gold, as Cotto writes,[1] but only arms, which cost the Spaniards so many lives, together with that of Esteval Rodrigues de Figueiroa, the Portuguese governor, who died in its conquest, that they thought well to abandon it[2])].

While I was in Malaca, I expressly procured all these sorts from their own countries, except that of Mindanao, which I saw afterwards in the Phelipinas. All of them are much inferior to that of Seylan; and it may be that this arises from their being less skilfully collected and cultivated. For the shrub is all one, resembling a laurel in form, leaf, and berry.[3]

The Persians and Arabs call the cinnamon of Seylan *dar Chiny Seylany*, that is, "wood of the Chinamen of Seylan;" because, when the Chinamen sailed those seas, and held that trade, they brought it from Seylan to Harmuz or Keis, and to Persia. They call our jungle cinnamon *kerfah*, and what we call China wood, the Persians call *chub Chiny*, that is, "China root;" though lately they have begun to adopt from the Portuguese the term *China Pao.*

To clear up what the Doctor Garcya d'Orta has written rather confusedly about cinnamon, I will say that the Malays call liquorice and cinnamon by one name, that is, *kayo maniz*, meaning "sweet wood": from *kayo*, wood, and *maniz*, sweet. To prevent mistakes, they call cinnamon *kayo maniz Selan*, as brought thence, and liquorice *kayo maniz Chin*, for that it comes to Malaca from China. And because *hamama*, or dove's-foot, which is the amomum, was a medicine highly esteemed for its virtue, considering the fragrance, sweetness, and excellence of

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[1] The reference is to Couto's *Dec. IV*, Liv. VII, cap. viii. This Decade was published in 1602. Teixeira's contradiction of Couto's statement appears to be unwarranted, for, according to Dr. Guillemard (in *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel, Australasia*, vol. ii, p. 87), "it is probable that gold exists in tolerable quantities" in Mindanao. (See also Gemelli Careri in *Churchill's Collection*, vol. iv, p. 464.)—D. F.

[2] A description of this disastrous expedition, which took place in 1596, is given by Morga (*Philippine Islands*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., pp. 53-54).—D. F.

[3] The regular cultivation of Ceylon cinnamon (*Cinnamonum zeylanicum*) dates from 1770, nearly two centuries after Teixeira's observation of the plant. [There is some doubt as to the exact date.—D. F.] And he expressly states that all his sorts came from jungles ("*matos*"). But it still is the custom in India for people to protect and even plant valuable trees in the forests, especially in the Bombay Presidency: the *mahwa* and *hirda* (*Bassia longifolia* and *Terminalia chebula*), the mango, and some palms. Oddly enough, the *Pharmacographia* suggests the same explanations of the differences in quality of modern cultivated cinnamons, as Teixeira for the wild sorts of his day (p. 472). Some of his specimens may have been what we now call "cassia bark," that of *Cinnamomum cassia.*

cinnamon, they called this *Chin hamama*, or Chinese amomum, of which the Latins made *cinamomum*; and that explains what Doctor Dorta said of the cinnamon.[1]

[*N.B.—At this point Mr. Sinclair's translation ends. For all that follows I am responsible.*—D. F.]

[Teixeira then proceeds to describe how the Pachas, a wild people in Ceylon, preserve flesh by putting it in honey in hollow trees.[2] He next refers to the eating of raw fish by the Nicobar islanders; the food of the Arabs already described; the eating of human flesh by the Javanese, and by the Zinbas of Africa, whose disastrous expedition, "ten or twelve years ago,"[3] is mentioned. Our author then says:—]

In this connection, I remember a very pleasant custom of certain blacks, natives of those parts, who, following the exercise of arms, cannot be made knights after their manner, until they have presented to the king one or more genital members of enemies whom they have slain, as a testimony of their valour; and thereupon they are rewarded with cattle and lands. Of this I was an eye-witness. They are called Mocegueios.[4]

[This, says Teixeira, reminds him of the story of Saul, David, and the Philistines. He adds, that, when he was in India, the people of Pegu were reduced by famine to selling human flesh publicly.[5] He then goes on:—]

To conclude with the Chingalas, I would say that they are naturally inclined to arms, in the which they have performed, and continue to perform, incredible feats, some of which I saw.[6]

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[1] Amomum in all modern times has meant cardamoms, of one sort or another. What spice the Greeks and Romans called by that name is not settled (*Pharmacographia, sub voce*).

[2] This is the earliest reference I know of, by a European writer, to the Veddás of Ceylon and their well-known custom (see *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, 1899, p. 133). The Pachas are frequently referred to by Couto and other writers as a degraded, fierce people, living in the forests of Ceylon. We find, also, that Pachas were employed by the Portuguese in the defence of Columbo on several occasions, including the siege of 1586-88, when Teixeira probably met them (cf. Couto, *Dec. X*, Liv. IX, cap. v). The name seems to be from Sinh. *paja* = low-caste, degraded.—D. F.

[3] It was really in 1589. Details (taken, apparently, from the *Ethiopia Oriental* of João dos Santos) are given in the makeshift *Decada XI* (Couto's being lost), caps. vi-xi. See also Theal's *Beginning of South African History*, p. 269.—D. F.

[4] Cf. *Dec. XI*, p. 94; Linschoten, vol. i, p. 274.

[5] *Circa* 1596 (see Couto, *Dec. XII*, Liv. v, cap. v; Bocarro, *Dec. XIII*, p. 121).

[6] Doubtless when he accompanied Manoel de Sousa Coutinho's expedition for the relief of Columbo in 1588 (see Introduction, and *supra*, p. 210).

They work most skilfully in ivory and crystal, of which the island produces some, and many and very neat firelocks.[1]

[Teixeira then resumes his history of Persia, but soon breaks off to speak of the game of chess, the original home of which he thinks, judging by the names of the pieces, to have been Persia. Taking up the thread of his history again, our author presently enters upon a digression that lasts to the end of the chapter. His subject is the titles of Eastern potentates, a number of which he explains. He concludes his remarks thus :—]

In that part of Africa which the Portuguese in India call Cafrarya, the princes are called by one of two common names. The first of these is Muñe, and is very like that in use in Congo and Angola, where they say to their prince "O Lord Manni." The other is Mongana; and I recollect that I knew in those parts, when going through them, one Mongana Bolay Agy; he was of royal family, and therefore was called Mongana; Bolay was his proper name. Agi is as much as "sanctified."[2] And I relate the following, as it is a pleasant matter, and shows a blindness worthy of laughter, or more truly of tears and pity. All the Moors hold and believe, as a certain and indubitable fact, that those of them who go on pilgrimage to their house of Medina, or as we say to Meka,[3] and are present at that solemnity which is celebrated in September, whatever they may be, become sanctified and safe, and that to reach Paradise they have no need to take any more pains. And such they are wont to name Agy, many of whom I knew, and amongst others one, a gate-keeper of the King Ferragut Xá,[4] called Amir Hamed Agy, who, relying on his pilgrimage, lived very contentedly, holding his salvation for certain. I asked him why, if he believed this, he still wearied and troubled himself, by going to the mosque, performing the *salâ*[5] and *namaz* (that is, the prayer), and fasting during their *ramedon*. He replied, that for himself he could well omit it;

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[1] Cf. Linschoten, vol. i, p. 81.

[2] The "two common names" mentoned by Teixeira are thus explained in the Glossary (p. 204) to Ravenstein's *Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell* (Hakluyt Soc.):—"Mwana, in Kongo, a title, son; mwana, a ntinu, prince; *synonyms* are Muene, Muata, Ngana. Mani is a corruption." "Bolay" I cannot explain. The "Bo" may perhaps represent Arab. *(a)bu* = "father of" (cf. "Boaly," *supra*, p. 235). "Agy" or "Agi" = Arab. *hájjí* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Hadgee").

[3] In chap. xxxi of the Second Book of his *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira discourses on this subject.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 166, 193, 194, 206.

[5] Arab. *salát* = prayer; Pers. *namáz* = prayers: Arab. *ramazán* = the fast season of Ramadan (cf. *supra*, p. 122).

but that he did it for others who had not the same privilege as he, nor had acquired that merit. Such are the darkness and obscurity in which those wretches live.

. . . . . .

CHAPTERS XXXVI-XLVII.

[In Chapter XXXVI there is a short digression regarding Nineveh; and in Chapter XXXVII a longer one respecting "Mahamed, the infernal instrument," as also an explanation of the Persian word *xerin* (*shírín*=sweet).

Chapters XXXVIII-XLVII, which conclude the First Book, contain no digressions.

BOOK II.

In the Second Book of his *History of the Kings of Persia*, Teixeira rarely digresses (for the reason given in his Prefatory Note).

In Chapter I occurs a short parenthetical explanation of the title *kalefáh;* but in the next fourteen chapters he sticks to his text.

In Chapter XVI a short account of the province of Khorásan is interpolated; but the succeeding fourteen chapters run on almost uninterruptedly.

In Chapter XXXI Teixeira offers some observations on Medina and Mecca, which latter place, he says, is on the shore of the Red Sea, "and not on the Persian Gulf, as writes a grave historian of our times." He himself, however, confuses it with Mocha.[1]

Chapters XXXII-XXXIV are free from interruptions; but in Chapter XXXV is a short digression regarding the famous Black Stone of Mecca.

Chapters XXXVI-XXXIX are occupied solely with the history; but in Chapter XL the record of the ransoming of the Black Stone tempts our author to describe the destruction at Goa of the so-called tooth of Buddha, carried off by D. Constantino de Bragança, in 1560, from Jaffna, in Ceylon.[2]

This is Teixeira's last digression; Chapters XLI-LIX (with which the Second Book ends) are confined entirely to the historical narrative.]

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[1] As he had previously done (see *supra*, p. 219).

[2] As narrated by Couto, *Dec. VII*, Liv. IX, cap. xvii (cf. also Linschoten, vol. i, pp. 292-294; Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 145, and footnote).

APPENDIX C.

A Short Account of the Most Notable Provinces and those that have continued longest under the dominion of Persia.[1]

PERSIA, which the natives thereof call Parç or Agem (whence the inhabitants are commonly called Pary[2] or Agemy[3]), being one of the great monarchies of the world, and of such fame and note, cannot be described with certain boundaries, on account of the varying extent of its territory, comprising sometimes more and sometimes less kingdoms and provinces. Of these I shall mention briefly those that have continued longest under this rule and have suffered less change; and of those the chief towns only, for the sake of clearness; leaving a description of their situation to the professors of cosmography.

PARÇ

is a province not of the largest of that kingdom,[4] the capital of which is Xyraz,[5] a large and noble city. It abounds in provisions

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[1] Although the greater part of this short account of Persia was written evidently from second-hand information, yet, as some of the statements are based on Teixeira's own observation, and as the whole account is very brief, I have thought well to give a translation of it. —D. F.

[2] *Sic in orig.*,—a misprint for "Parcy" or "Parsy." In chap. vi of Bk. I of his *Kings of Persia* (see *supra*, p. 203), Teixeira says:—"The natives call this kingdom Parç, and so do the Arabs, save that for the letter *P*, which they lack, they put *F*, and say Farç." Then, after stating that he had been unable to trace the origin of the name, and advancing the theory that "Persia" and "Parthia" were identical, he adds:—"However it be, the kingdom is called Parç, and a person or anything else thereof Parçy, which means 'of Persia,' because that *y* at the end is a preposition [*sic*] signifying 'of,' as one would say 'of Spain.'"

[3] Cf. *supra*, pp. 51, 65, 67. On the meaning and use of the words *ajam*, *ajami*, see *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., vol. vi, p. 356.

[4] Fárs: for a description of which see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 64-66. It will be noticed that in Teixeira's time this province embraced what are now the provinces of Fársistán and Láristán.

[5] In chap. vi of Bk. I of his *Kings of Persia* (cf. *supra*, p. 203), Teixeira records the founding of Shiráz by "Iambxed," and says of it:

of bread, flesh, and fruits, has much rose-water and plenty of hides, and a great commerce with all the kingdoms subject to Persia. In it are manufactured silks from that which is produced in the neighbourhood.

There is also the city of Lar, or Lara as we Portuguese pronounce it,[1] whence are called the *laris*, a money of the finest silver, very well-known and current throughout all the East.[2] It is the capital of a kingdom, and there are found the best bows for shooting in the whole of Persia. In the year of human redemption 1593, in the month of September, there was in this city an earthquake that destroyed more than 1200 houses, and ruined the greater part of the walls and many cisterns (for that country has no water beside what is collected in these from the rain); and three thousand persons died.[3]

"This is the capital of the kingdom that is properly called Persia, the name of which is given to all the others that are subject to it. . . . . It has a circuit of twelve *farsanghes*, each *farsanghe* containing three thousand paces. It is cold, on account of being far to the north, though much more so is Tabriz, the metropolis of Aderbajon, of which I have spoken above. The inhabitants of Shiraz are a white people, and for the most part handsome, and of graceful proportion and figure. . . . . From Xyraz are carried to other parts provisions, woollens, hides, and other things in which it abounds, and great plenty of the most perfect distilled rose-water—I say distilled, in distinction from that which is obtained and made by decoction; and the quantity is so great that from Persia the whole of the East is supplied therewith in abundance. In Xyraz is found that second variety of bitter costus that the Persians and Arabs call *kost*. And the Persians and Arabs commonly say *kost talk* [*kust talkh*], that is, bitter costus, in distinction from the other ordinary kind brought from India, which they call *kost xerin* [*kust shírín*], which is sweet." Teixeira here says nothing of the manufacture of silk in Shiráz, an industry which, if it ever existed in that city, seems to have disappeared. With regard to the rose-water, see *supra*, p. 217. For more detailed accounts of Shiráz, see Ant. Gouvea's *Relaçam*, Liv. I, cap. ix; Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 127 *et seq.*; and Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 93 *et seq.*

[1] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Lāri (c)," and cf. *supra*, pp. 162, 209, 229. For descriptions of Lár, see Ant. Gouvea's *Relaçam*, Liv. I, cap. vii; Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 119 *et seq.* At the end of his *Kings of Persia* Teixeira mentions the destruction by Sháh Abbás of the kingdom of Lár and the slaying of its king, "because of the robberies and violence to which he subjected the caravans of merchants that passed by there" (see also Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 119).

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 30, *n.*; and see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Larin." Sir Thos. Herbert, in describing Lár, says (*Travels*, p. 120): "Near this *Buzzar* the *Larrees* are coyned; a famous sort of Money, being pure silver but shaped like a Date-stone, the King's name, or some sentence out of the *Alcoran* being stamp'd upon it; in our Money it values ten pence."

[3] Ant. Gouvea, who was in Lár in 1602, does not mention this earthquake (see his *Relaçam*, Liv. I, cap. vii). But Sir Thomas

There are also in this province of Parç—Taròm, Iaharom, Kazrrú,[1] Lastam, which grows the *ingo*, that is, assafœtida ;[2] Stahabanon, where graze the *pagens* that produce the *pazar* stones, the inhabitants of which are all bald-headed ;[3] Neriz, the mountains of which abound in mines of iron and fine steel, from which are wrought excellent arms and very curious things ;[4] Paçáh and Dar-Aguerd, celebrated for abundance of provisions and fresh and dried fruits, and not a little rose-water ;[5] and many other places of less account.

HYERAK

is another of the provinces of Persia, large and important.[6] Its metropolis is Hisphaòn, a very populous city, the seat at times of

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Herbert, who visited the place in 1628, says that it was "overturned by many dreadful Earthquakes. *Anno Domini* 1400 it shook terribly, when five hundred houses tumbled down. *Anno* 1593 (of their account 973) she boasted of five thousand houses ; but that very year the earth swelled with such a tympany, that in venting it self all *Larr* was forced to quake, and would not be suppressed but by the weight of three thousand houses turned topsie-turvy with the death of three thousand of the Inhabitants : The old Castle on the East side of the Town (which owes its foundation to *Gorgean Melec*) though built upon the top of a solid rock, groaned in a like affrighting downfall" (*Travels*, p. 120).

[1] These three places are Tarun, between Bandar Abbás and Furg ; Jahrum, to the south-east of Shiráz ; and Kazran, or Kazerun, west of Shiráz.

[2] See *supra*, p. 209, and footnote. Sir T. Herbert says : "Near *Whormoot* [*sic* for Hormuz] are *Duzgun*, *Laztan-de*, and other Towns, where is got the best Assafœtida through all the Orient : The tree exceeds not our Briar in height, but the leaves resemble Rose-leaves, the root the Radish" (*Travels*, p. 118).

[3] See *supra*, pp. 201, 209, 221, 229.

[4] "Neriz" is Niriz, the town at the south-eastern extremity of Lake Niriz. With respect to Teixeira's statement regarding the mineral resources of this region, see Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 93.

[5] "Paçáh" and "Dar-Aguerd" are Fasa or Pasa, and Darab or Darabjird, situated respectively south and south-east of Lake Niriz (see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 87, 111).

[6] The modern Irák Ajami. In Bk. I, chap. xxii, of his *Kings of Persia* (cf. p. 209, *supra*) Teixeira says : "The Arabs and Persians assign this name of Hyerak to two regions, to which they give as a terminus and boundary the city Babilonia in ancient times, and now that of Bagdad in its place, situated not very far from where that stood. Starting therefrom it extends towards Persia, which includes many kingdoms and principalities subjected to it : in which also is the province properly called Hyerak, the metropolis of which, as I have already said [in chap. vii], is the famous city of Hisphaon ; and this part they commonly call Hyerak Agemy, that is, Persian Hyerak.

the Persian kings.[1] It has a large trade, and is well supplied with every necessary.

This province also contains Yazd, noted not for its size but for its pleasantness, and for the many and rich carpets made there, which are the best in the whole world; also much silk, and excellent rose-water.[2]

Kaxon is famous for the great plenty of silks of every sort that are manufactured there, and for the fertility of its soil in every kind of fruit, of which the quinces are particularly celebrated by the name of Kaxon.[3]

There are also Kom,[4] Saoáh;[5] Kazvin, a famous city, and at present the court of the kings of Persia, since the last loss of

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The other, starting from Babilonia or Bagdad, extends towards Arabia, the whole of which it includes, and Egypt and other provinces, and this is called Hyerak Araby. And the two together, comprehending both countries, they call Hyerakhen, that is, 'two Hyerakas.'"

[1] For descriptions of Isfahán, see Ant. Gouvea's *Relaçam*, Liv. I, cap. xxi; Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 160 *et seq.*; Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 20 *et seq.* It was Sháh Abbás the Great (1585-1628) who raised Isfahán to the position of capital of the kingdom, and to whom is largely due the magnificence described by travellers of the seventeenth century.

[2] See *supra*, p. 217. As regards the carpets of Yazd, Teixeira says (*Kings of Persia*, Bk. I, chap. xxvii): "In three parts of Persia are manufactured carpets, which in Portuguese we call *alcatifas*, and the Persians call *kalichey* [*kálícha*], the richest and finest and most esteemed in Yazd, from which place I saw some, each of which, on account of its workmanship and perfection, was valued at more than a thousand ducats; and thus, in speaking of *alcatifa* of Yazd, which in Portuguese we corruptly call *dodiaz*, is understood the best, finest, and most perfect. The second best are those from the kingdom of Kermon, the third from Karason; they are also made in Agrà, Bengala, and Cambaya, but not fine ones." The silk industry of Yazd is referred to by Marco Polo and other writers. Yazd is also noted for its Parsi community, with their fire-altars and Towers of Silence (see *supra*, p. 196, and *infra*, p. 252). For a description of the place, see Ant. Gouvea's *Relaçam*, Liv. I, cap. xi; Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 38 *et seq.*

[3] Kashan is still noted for its silks, satins, velvets and brocades; but of its quinces I find no mention. For descriptions of the town, see Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, pp. 222-223; Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 12 *et seq.*

[4] Kúm: for description of which see Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 219 *et seq.*; Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 7 *et seq.*

[5] This is Sawah, Marco Polo's "Saba" (see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 6, *n.*). Sir T. Herbert (*Travels*, p. 218) describes it under the name of "Saway."

Tabriz ;[1] Amedom, Targazin, Damaoand, Taharon ;[2] Rey Xarear, where is gathered much manna, but not the purest ;[3] and many other places of less note.

ADERBAION OR AZARBAION

is another large province,[4] the chief city of which is the famous Tabriz, the court of the kings of Persia before it came into the

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[1] For descriptions of Kasvín, see Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 209 *et seq.* ; Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 35 *et seq.* "The last loss of Tabriz" was in 1515 (see *supra*, p. 208, and footnote *infra*, p. 245).

[2] "Amedom" is Hamadan (ancient Ecbatana), for an account of which see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 566 *et seq.* "Targazin" may perhaps represent Túsirkán, west of Kúm and Kashan. "Damaoand" is Damávand, east of Tehrán, and is mentioned by Teixeira in Bk. I, chap. ii, of his *Kings of Persia*, as being formerly in the province of Ázarbaiján. "Taharon" is, of course, the modern capital of Persia, Tehrán, described briefly under the name of "Tyroan" by Sir T. Herbert (*Travels*, p. 207), and in detail by Curzon (*Persia*, vol. i, p. 300 *et seq.*).

[3] See *supra*, p. 203. It will be noticed that in the passage there given Teixeira refers to "Hrey" as a city great and famous, producing the best and purest manna, and then mentions "another city of Persia, called Rey Xarear," which also produced manna, but not so good. Here our author repeats this statement regarding "Rey Xarear," which he classes among the cities of the province of "Hyerak." That "Rey Xarear" is identical with the "Xaharihrey" [(misprinted "Xahariprey") of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo (see Hakluyt Soc. ed. of his *Embassy*, p. 99) there cannot be the least doubt (see also Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 349). But then comes the question of the identity of "Hrey," which, mentioned in the note on p. 203, is classed by Teixeira as a city of Khorásan, situated on the "cool river Habin." Mr. Sinclair has, without giving any reason, assumed the identity of the two places, but I have, after some little trouble, arrived at a different conclusion, the reasons for which I give in the footnote on "Hrey," *infra*, p. 248.

[4] Ázarbaiján, regarding which see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 514 *et seq.* In Bk. I, chap. xvii, of his *Kings of Persia* (cf. *supra*, p. 206) Teixeira, happening to speak of "the sect of Zarduxt, which is that of fire" (of course Zarathushtra or Zoroaster is meant), says : "Referring above to the city of Tabriz, I said, that it is the capital of the province of Aderbajon, or, as others have it, Azarbajon, which in the Calange language, which is that of that region, means 'province of fire ;' and, as has already been mentioned, it was here that this sect had its origin, the which gave its name to the district, and to him that follows it that of Zarduxt, which means 'friend of fire :' although *zar*, in the general Persian language (which, as I have said, differs greatly in particulars) means 'money,' and *azar* 'a thousand,' and *zahar* 'poison' or 'gall,' and fire is called *attex*." As a fact, *zar* in Persian does mean "gold" or "money," *házar* = "thousand," *zahr* = "poison" (cf. *supra*, p. 229), and *zahra* = "gall-bladder," while *átish* means fire" (cf. *supra*, p. 196). But *ázar* or *ázur* also = "fire ;" and Azarbaiján

power of the Turk.[1] This region is full of many objects of note, and is well supplied with every necessary. It has a great commerce with Rusia, Polonya, Moscovya, Sircasya, Gurgestam, and all parts of Persia. Some silver is mined there; and a great quantity of alum, and madder for dyeing.[2]

The inhabitants are called by the common name of Calanges.[3]

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is said to mean "the guardian of fire." The explanation of "Zarduxt" (Persian Zárdusht=Zoroaster) given by Teixeira, even if incorrect, is more poetical than that suggested by Dr. Karl Geldner (*Encycl. Brit.*, *s. v.* "Zoroaster"), who says that the name seems to mean "possessor of old camels." Curiously enough, in Bk. I, chap. vii, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira, after chronicling the reign of the cruel usurper Zohak, says: "Zoahk, judging by the fact that the Persians celebrate his great wisdom in natural sciences and his long life, and by the resemblance of the name, may be considered to have been Zoroastes."

[1] For descriptions of Tabríz see Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 208; Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 518 *et seq.* With respect to the conquest of Tabríz by the Turks, see Sir T. Herbert, *u. s.*, and cf. p. 208, *n.*, *supra*, as also note on Kasvín above. According to Teixeira (*Kings of Persia*, Bk. II, chaps. lvii, lix) Sháh Ismáíl, in 1502, captured Tabríz from the Turks, who, however, in 1515, the year after the birth of Sháh Táhmasp, retook it under Salím I (*not* Salím II, as stated inadvertently in the footnote on p. 208, *supra*). Both in Bk. I, chap. v, and Bk. II, chap. lix, Teixeira speaks of Tabríz as having been captured by Salím from *Táhmasp*, but it seems evident that the conquest in 1515 is meant. Our author also mentions the recapture of the city by Sháh Abbás, but gives no date: it actually took place in 1603 (see Ant. Gouvea's *Relaçam*, Liv. II, cap. v, for an account of the reduction).

[2] On the mineral resources of Ázarbaiján, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 514. Nothing is there said of silver, however (though it may, of course, exist); nor is the cultivation of madder mentioned by Curzon. But this is not surprising; for on p. 524 the writer says:—"The introduction of aniline dyes, though strictly prohibited by the Government, has had a lamentable effect in causing the neglect, and in some cases even the loss, of native vegetable hues."

[3] Cf. note 4 on p. 244. The inhabitants of Ázarbaiján are mostly Kurds. Teixeira's "Calange" may possibly (as Mr. H. Beveridge suggests) be for Persian *khalanj*=bicolored, piebald; perhaps applied as a term of contempt by the Persians to these "mongrels" (cf. Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon*, Bd. 9, *s. v.* "Kalang"). But Curzon (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 551) says:—"The language spoken by the majority of the Kurds is Kurmanju (sometimes called Kirdasi), which is generally accepted as an old Persian patois, intermingled with alien words." And Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his article on "Kurdistan" in the *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xiv, says (p. 157):—"The present Kurdish language, which is called Kermánjí—a title difficult to explain—is an old Persian patois, intermixed to the north with Chaldean words, and to the south with a certain Turanian element, which may not improbably have come down from Babylonian times." Teixeira's "Calange" may, therefore, possibly represent "Kermánjí."

There are also Xyrvan, Nakxoan, Hordobat,[1] Ardavel or Ardevil,[2] Halkhan,[3] and many others.

GUEYLON OR GUYLAN,

another of the provinces subject to Persia, is very extensive, and contains many very large districts. It borders on the Caspian Sea, which takes its name therefrom, for the Persians call it Daryáh Gueylany (Sea of Gueylon). It is divided into five governments, the capitals of which are the cities of Raxt, Laion, Gaxkhar, Langarkanon, and Kudam. Gueylon is commonly called End-safet, that is, White India, because it is a pleasant, cool, and fertile land. It confines with Moscovia, which the Persians call Moscau.[4]

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[1] "Xyrvan" represents, I think, Eriván, through some confusion with the province of Shirván. "Nakxoan" and "Hordobat" are Nakjiván or Nakchiván, and Ordabád. These three places are now outside Persian territory.

[2] In Bk. I, chap. ii, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira enumerates "Ardavel" among the places founded by "Kayumarrás." In chap. xiv (cf. *supra*, p. 205) he says: "Ardabel, or Ardavil, for it is called by either of these names, is a city in Persia in the province of Aderbajon, a few days' journeys distant from Tabriz, not large, but well known from being the birthplace of Xeque Aydar, father of Xeque or Xa Ismael Suphy, who ruled Persia when the Portuguese began their trade and conquests there." At the end of the chapter, however, he says that Ardabil was the birthplace of Ismáíl Sufí himself; and this is confirmed by his account in Bk. II, chap. lix, where it is stated that Haidar was born in Diyárbakar, and Sháh Ismáíl in Ardabíl, in 1488. On Ardabíl, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 531.

[3] "Halkhan" = Khalkhal, which is a district, and not a town. Khalkhán is a village in Kurdestán, at the foot of Mount Bahistún.

[4] In Bk. I, chap. xxi, of his *Kings of Persia* (cf. *supra*, p. 208), Teixeira says: "Gueylon was of old a great kingdom, but now is reduced to a province, and is divided into five governments, all subject to that of Persia. The Persians call it by the general and common name of Gueylan or Guylon, and the natives also call it Endsafet [Arab. *Hind safíd*], which means 'White India,' because it is pleasant and agreeable, in contrast with the proper and true India, which they consider dreary; and so they are wont to apply by metaphor the name India to any place that they wish to represent as dreary and dark, as our poets do of Tartary." Then comes the enumeration of the five governments translated on p. 208 *supra*, and, after describing the campaign of Sháh Abbás in 1594, Teixeira continues: "Gueylon lies along the Caspian Sea, which takes its name therefrom, and thus the Persians call it Dariá Gueylany, that is, Sea of Gueylan. It is salt, but has no navigable communication with the ocean. It is of an oval shape, and is reckoned at somewhat over three hundred *farsangues*, that is nine hundred miles in length. It suffers from violent storms, and is navigated in large but flat-bottomed

There follow, running along by the Caspian Sea :[1]—

Mazandaron,[2] Strabat,[3] Bostam,[4] Sabzabáh ;[5] Nyxábur, which produces turquoises ;[6] and others, all in former times capitals of kingdoms and provinces, but now reduced to single governments of Persia. All are very populous cities.

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vessels. It has ports in various kingdoms, in which there is great traffic of merchandise : such as that of Kefah, a very important port and city of the Tartars, and the river of Astrakàm, a Moscovite town, which with other mighty ones flows into it. In winter a great part of it is frozen. Much fish is caught in it." By the Tartar "port" and city of "Kefah," we are probably to understand Khiva. The "river of Astrakàm" is the Volga. I have found no confirmation of the statement as to Gílán being called "Hind Safíd ;" but the principal river that runs through Gílán is the Safíd Rúd, or White River. Regarding Rasht, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 384.

[1] The places mentioned are not all "by the Caspian Sea," some being a long distance from it. Our author had evidently never visited these.

[2] On the "city" of Mazandarán, see p. 204, *supra*. In the passage omitted by Mr. Sinclair, Teixeira says :—"This city Mazandaron is one of the famous ones of those parts. It is situated beyond the territories of Gueylon towards the north, near the Caspian Sea. The natives are a strong and warlike people, and are reckoned among the Persians, subject, like the rest, to the King of Persia." On the province of Mazandarán, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 354 *et seq.*

[3] For a description of Astrabád, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 356 *et seq.*

[4] On Bostán, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 283.

[5] On Sabzawár, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 268.

[6] For a description of Nishápúr, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 261 *et seq.* (the famous turquoise mines being treated of at p. 264). In Bk. I, chap. xxxiii, of his *Kings of Persia* (cf. p. 229, *supra*) Teixeira says :—"Nixábur is one of the provinces subject to the kingdom of Persia, situated between Karason, Uzbek and Tatár, a great territory and full of great deserts and sandy wastes, of which it is asserted, and I hold it for a fact, that they are in continual motion, as if boiling. It is recorded in the Persian histories that in this province Teymurlangh, of whom I shall speak in another place [Bk. I, chap. xxxv ; cf. p. 235 *supra*], caused to be slain four hundred thousand persons in one day ; nor is it much to be wondered at, considering how cruel he is said to have been. In this province of Nixábur are produced those green [*verdes*] stones that are set in rings, which are called Turkish [*turquezas*], and not without cause, because Nixábur is a region confining with Turkestam. . . . In no province of Persia are there found precious stones (in spite of what some have written), unless we choose to give that name to these Turkish ones, which the Persians value, but not much."

KERMON

is a province in Persia, lying between it and Karason, and takes its name from a chief city of the same.[1] It has many other towns, but not of much importance. As I have already said, it produces rose-water, carpets, *tutia*, wormseed, and *surmáh*.[2]

Persia has these provinces also:—

Sagistam,[3] Tabarstam,[4] Kablestam,[5] Nim-Ruz,[6] Stha-Hor,[7] Sis-

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[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 160, *n.* (the statement in which, as to the identity of Sirján with Karmán, is incorrect). In Bk. I, chap. xxvii, of his *Kings of Persia* (cf. *supra*, p. 217) Teixeira says:—"Kermon is a large province, and one of the principal in Persia, lying between it and the lands of Karáçon, and is celebrated throughout the East for some special things that are obtained thence, of which I shall make brief mention. It has a city of the same name, which gives it to the whole province." Regarding the province and city of Karmán, see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, 243 *et seq.*

[2] On the rose-water, *tutia*, worm-seed and surma of Karmán, see *supra*, p. 217 *et seq.* Regarding its carpets, see *supra*, p. 243, *n.*

[3] In Bk. I, chap. ii, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira says that Kayumarras (Kaiomurs) founded "Sagiston," and in chap. vi he tells us that Jamshíd "resided most of the time in the province and city of Sagistam." Johnson's *Pers.-Arab.-Eng. Dict.* has "Sijistān, a kingdom to the east of Persia (the ancient Drangiana)." Markham (*Hist. of Persia*, p. 14, *n.*) says:—"The name of *Sistan* is said by some to be derived from the *saghes* wood, much used by the Persians for burning. It was formerly called *Saghestan*, and its true etymology is the country of the Sagan or Sacæ." (Cf. footnotes *infra.*)

[4] Tabaristán is the old name of the Elburj region of Persia, the ancient Hyrcania.

[5] In Bk. I, chap. ii, of the *Kings of Persia*, "Kabulstan" is mentioned as one of the places founded by Kaiomurs. In Bk. I, chap. xviii, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira says:—"Kabul is a kingdom that in former times was subject to that of Persia; it confines with the territories of India." On the kingdom of Kábul see Yule's articles in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed.. vol. i, p. 228; vol. iv, p. 624.

[6] Johnson's *Pers.-Arab.-Eng. Dict.* explains *nīm-roz* by "Mid-day. Name of the province of Sīstān." In Bk. I, chap. ix, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira says that Manucher (Menucheher) appointed Zal governor of "the territories of Nim rues, that is, 'Land of the South'" (*media dia*, lit. "mid-day").

[7] In Bk. I, chap. ii, of the *Kings of Persia*, we are informed that Kaiomurs founded "Stahhar, which also served him as court." The place referred to is Istakhr, or Istakar, otherwise Persepolis, which, however, according to Markham (*Hist. of Persia*, p. 6), was founded by Jamshíd. For descriptions see Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 136 *et seq.*; Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, chap. xxi.

tam,[1] Curdestam,[2] Lorestam,[3] and many others not so noteworthy, which I do not mention, lest I weary the reader.

The whole country of Persia is for the most part well supplied with provisions—bread, flesh, fresh and dried fruit (both those of Europe and other kinds), all at moderate prices.

The people are fair, handsome, and of polite disposition; their garb is very like the Turkish. They follow the sect of Morts-Aly, which differs in some particulars from that of Mahamed.[4] They generally fight on horseback, with spear and shield, bows, arrows, scimitars, coats of mail, and maces; and ride with short stirrups, and with their horses caparisoned. In warfare they are formidable, and very dogged therein. The Persians are much addicted to the reading of books, and pride themselves thereon. They are great lovers of poetry, in which they had and have distinguished men and erudite works.[5] They

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[1] In Bk. II, chap. xxiii, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira says:—"The province of Siston lies below those of Karason and Kermon towards the region of the Persian Gulf, and it has on one side Persia, to whose rule Siston is subject, and on the other the kingdom of Macron [Makrán], bordering on the territories of India." From the footnotes above it will be seen that Teixeira, in ignorance, mentions the province of Sístán under three different names as three separate provinces. On Sístán see *Eastern Persia*, vol. i, p. 395 *et seq.*

[2] On Kurdistán see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. i, p. 548 *et seq.*

[3] On Lúristán see Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, p. 273 *et seq.*

[4] See *supra*, p. 47. "Morts"=Arab. *murtaza'* (chosen, approved), a title applied to Ali. In Bk. I, chap. xiv, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira says:—"All the sects of the Moors, which were and are many, are reducible to two principal ones: Suny, which is that held by the Arabs and Turks and all those that follow the Alcoran of Mohamed without any comments or expositions, and these, as I have said, are called Sunys; the others Xyahys, who are the Persians and all those that follow Morts Aly."

[5] In his *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira here and there refers to one or other of the Persian writers or books. Thus in Bk. I, chap. xv, he mentions the fables of "Lokmon" (Lukmán) as current amongst the Persians; in chap. xviii he states that they possess and prize the works of Hypocrates, Democritus, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, and other Greek authors, and also books in prose and verse recounting the exploits of Rustám; in chap. xxii he tells us that Alexander caused to be translated out of Persian into Greek three books, one on medicine, another on astrology and mathematics, and a third on philosophy; and at the end of the same chapter he says that the Persians have written many books in prose and verse extolling the deeds of Alexander; in chap. xxxv he speaks of the works of Boaly or Avicenna, and records the bringing from India to Persia of "two very celebrated books of philosophy, the one called Kelilah, and the other Wademaná" (a curiously incorrect description of the *Kalílah*

are very amorous; are acquainted with all the sciences and speculative arts, the professors of which treat of them with great nicety and subtlety. Their common law, however, occupies no more codices or volumes than that of their sect; by the which they are governed, intrusting the work of the administration of justice to trustworthy persons. The Persian men are jealous, and the women not over chaste.

In fine, Persia is one of the civilised monarchies of the world, and not one of the least. There usually come from all the provinces of Persia to Harmuz large caravans or *cafilas*, to trade with the Portuguese and other Christians, and the heathen and Moors that reside there, and to barter what they bring,[1] namely, gold, silver, raw and manufactured silk, brocades, carpets, horses, madder, alum, *tuthiáth*,[2] rhubarb, rose-water, and divers other commodities. They take away very fine cloths and handkerchiefs, cloves, cinnamon, pepper, cardamom, ginger, mace, nutmeg, sugar, *calayn*[3] or tin, sandalwood and *sapam*,[4] or brazil-wood, China porcelain, musk, ambergris, lignaloes, precious stones, pearls, indigo, lac, and many other things. The Persians have no shipping except on the Caspian Sea; and some that go to India do so by way of Harmuz in Portuguese ships, or in others under their licence.[5]

All the inhabitants of Persia are either Moors who are Xyays (and these form the greater part), or heathen Gaoryazdys who worship fire:[6] who, though many in number, are few in comparison with the others; or Jews, who are free to live anywhere, there being some eight to ten thousand families of them throughout all the provinces of Persia. There are also not a few Armenian and Nestorian Christians.[7]

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wa-Dimnah or fables of Bidpái); and in chap. xxxvii he mentions a book of Persian poetry called "Khozrrai Xerin" (*Khusrau Shírín*). In Bk. II, chap. lv, also, Teixeira states that in the time of Húlákú Khán there flourished in Persia "Coaja Naciradin Tuffy, a famous astrologer, who wrote a book, called Zich el Kony, of judgments and figures, very celebrated among the Persians" (the astronomical *Tables of the Ilkhánt* by the famous Násiruddín are meant). See also *supra*, p. 219.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 168, and *infra*, p. 266.

[2] *Sic*, by a printer's error probably (see *supra*, p. 218).

[3] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Calay."

[4] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Sappan-wood."

[5] On the navigation of the Caspian Sea see footnote *supra*, p. 246. Regarding the Portuguese system of passports, or *cartazes*, cf. *supra* p. 24.

[6] See *supra*, p. 196.

[7] Cf. *supra*, p. 168.

MAURENAHAR

is the name of those territories that lie across the river Gehun, which divides them from Karason.[1] Here are Koarrazm[2] and Gaznehen,[3] and then come Turkestam,[4] Uzbek,[5] Tatar,[6] Ketao Kotan,[7] and others innumerable, no less rich and opulent than warlike.

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[1] The river "Gehun" (spelt "Jehun" above) is, of course the Oxus, Jaihún being the Arabic name, and Amú or Amú Daria the local name. "Maurenahar" is Arabic *Ma warâ 'l Nahr*="beyond the river," or "Transoxiana" (see Lt.-General Walker's article "Oxus" in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xviii, p. 101).

[2] Khwárizm, regarding which see article "Khiva," in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xiv, p. 62.

[3] "Gaznahen" (Teixeira once only has "Gazna"=Ghaznín, otherwise Ghazni, Ghaznah, etc., the famous city in Afghánistán, generally associated with the name of Mahmúd. For description and history see Yule's article in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. x, p. 359 *et seq.*

[4] In Bk. I, chap. viii, of the *Kings of Persia* (cf. *supra*, p. 204) Teixeira states that Tur, son of Frayhdun (Feridún) "founded a city, which was called from his name Turon, and the same was given to that kingdom and the whole region, Turquestam as it is called to this day. It is situated near the Caspian Sea, above it towards the east, in the territories that are called those of Maure nahar." For a description of Turkestan and its history, see Prince Kropotkin's article in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xxiii, p. 631 *et seq.*; and on Afghán Turkestán, see Yule's article in vol. i, p. 241 *et seq.*

[5] See *infra.*

[6] In Bk. I, chap. xxii, of the *Kings of Persia* (cf. *supra*, p. 214) Teixeira speaks of "Tartary, as we call it, which the Persians call Tatár, and the inhabitants of those regions Tataron, and we Tartars, whose empire it is usual to divide into two parts. One lies towards Europe, above the Caspian Sea, whose metropolis is the city of Kefah on the shore of the said sea, of which I have already treated [see *supra*, p. 246 *n.*]. The other is the principal, situated in territories confining with China, called by the proper name of Khan balek, which means 'city of the king' or 'of the lord': from *balek*, 'city,' and *khan*, 'king,' or 'lord.' I know well that there are those who write Balu, but the only way of saying it is Balek. This is the court of the Grand Tartar, whose greatness and opulence may be judged by the fact that he ordinarily has within the walls a garrison of sixty thousand men-of-arms; and though this may appear a large number, it must be credited and held for certain, because, doubting thereof, I inquired concerning it, and ascertained it to be most true. To those parts belonged Chinguys Kan, the first king of those people that descended into Persia." Regarding Tartary and the Tartars, see Yule's *Marco Polo, passim.*

[7] In the same chapter quoted from in the previous note Teixeira refers to "Kethao Kothan, which we commonly call Katayo [Cathay]" (cf. also *supra*, p. 213). On Kotan see Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 196.

UZBEK

is a very large province; and, although in former times it was always subject to Persia, at present not only is it separate, but it makes war on it, and has taken some of its territories.[1] This province is very extensive, and contains cities and towns of importance. Its metropolis is Balk;[2] and it also contains Samarkand, the birthplace of Teymurlangh;[3] Damarkand;[4] Bokará, the birthplace of Boàly or Aviçena;[5] Kaxghar and Axkhar, whence comes the best rhubarb;[6] and many others.

The inhabitants are warlike, fight on horseback with bows and arrows, spears, swords and shields, and coats of mail, always flying; and in this way they have in our days greatly increased their dominion. Among others, they have taken the kingdom of Kandar, the king of which for some fifteen years enjoyed the

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[1] From the places mentioned it will be seen that what Teixeira calls the "province" of "Uzbek" comprised Afghán Turkestán, Bokhára, etc., whence came the invading Uzbegs, of whom he speaks below.

[2] In Bk. I, chap. ii, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira records how, while Kaiomurs was building a city in Tabaristán, his brother came to see him, the two exchanging loving embraces; wherefore, "to show the pleasure he received from the visit, he called the city that he was laying out Balk, which means 'embrace,' as it is called to this day, and is one of the most famous in the province of Uzbek; populous, rich and warlike, as are the others of those parts." I can find no word in Persian or Arabic like *balk*, meaning "embrace"; and, in any case, Teixeira's derivation may be considered simply as an example of popular etymology. Shea's translation of Mír Khwánd (p. 58), says: "Kaiomurs recognized his brother, and said to his son, 'Bál Akh!' ('This is surely my brother') from which circumstance the city was called Balkh." On Balkh, see Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 158.

[3] In Bk. I, chap. xxxv, of the *Kings of Persia* (see *supra*, p. 235, and cf. also footnote on p. 247) Teixeira says: "Samarkand, a most noble city, situated in the territories of Maurenahar, built, as the Persians hold, by Alexander the Great, son of Philip, king of Macedonia, was the birthplace of the famous Teymur, whom we vulgarly call Tamorlam, or Tamborlan." (Then follows an account of Timúr.) On Samarkand, see article in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xxi, p. 246. Timúr made the city his residence; but his birthplace was Kesh, fifty miles south of Samarkand.

[4] "Damarkand" is probably only an alternative form of "Samarkand," the ancient name of which was Marcandia.

[5] In Bk. I, chap. xxxv, of the *Kings of Persia* (see *supra*, p. 235), Teixeira gives some account of Avicenna (who was born near, not at, Bokhára).

[6] Cf. *supra*, p. 213. "Axkhar" perhaps represents Aski Shahr, the name of the ancient city of Káshghar (see article in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xiv, p. 7).

favour of the Great Mogol, becoming his vassal; but, although so powerful, he was unable to restore it to him.[1]

The Uzbekes have no hereditary king, but on the death of the captain who governs them they elect another. They are like the Chinese in face and beard, are large-limbed and strong. They speak somewhat through their nose like the Chinese, whom they much resemble in dress, manners, and pronunciation of speech.[2]

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[1] On the history of Kandahár, see Sir T. H. Holdich's article in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xiii, p. 837.

[2] It is possible that Teixeira may have met some Uzbegs whilst in Persia. In Bk. I, chap. xxii, of the *Kings of Persia* (cf. *supra*, p. 214), our author says: "All these peoples, Ubekes [*sic*], Tartars, and those of Khetao Khotan, in face and dress do not differ from the Chinese: they are white, strongly-built, with small, puffy eyes, and sparse and straggling beards." In chap. xxxv of the same book Teixeira says: "The Mogols, who are really Tartars and offshoots from them, are a warlike and arrogant race; and consider themselves among the most valiant in the world. They fight for the most part on horseback, having themselves bound thereon when they enter into battle, in order to go more securely. They use lance and *cofo* [cf. *supra*, p. 5], which is a shield which serves as a targe, bow and Turkish arrows, arquebuses, artillery, coats of mail and scimitars, and such like arms. They are a gluttonous folk, fond of wine, and very sensual. . . . They are white and red, and good-tempered."

APPENDIX D.

Relation[1] *of the Chronicle of the Kings of Ormuz,*[2] *taken from a Chronicle composed by a King of the same Kingdom, named Pachaturunxa,*[3] *written in Arabic,*[4] *and summarily translated into the Portuguese language by a friar of the order of Saint Dominick, who founded in the island of Ormuz a house of his order.*[5]

WHEN King Mahometh[6] was reigning in Amão,[7] which is in the interior of Arabia Felix, at the beginning of his reign,[8] desiring to extend his kingdom and fame, he assembled in council the chief men of his kingdom, and said to them, that the territories

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[1] As stated in the Introduction (*q. v.*), an abbreviated translation of this earlier version of Ṭúrán Sháh's Chronicle was printed in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Pt. II, pp. 1785-1787. In giving this complete translation, I have indicated the parts omitted by Purchas.—D. F.

[2] The writer spells the name "Hormuz," but when the preposition *de* happens to come before it he combines the two words (a common custom of the writers of that period) thus, "Dormuz."

[3] That is, Padisháh Ṭúrán Sháh.

[4] *Sic.* It is curious that Stevens makes the same error (see his title-page, in Introduction).

[5] If this was Gaspar da Cruz himself, the foundation must have taken place in 1565 or 1566, when he came from China to Hormuz, in which place, as he tells us (*infra*, p. 266) he spent three years. (For details regarding Gaspar da Cruz, see Barbosa Machado's *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, tom. ii, p. 347.)

[6] See *supra*, p. 153.

[7] 'Omán. See *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of 'Omân* (Hakluyt Soc.), p. i, ff. In Bk. I, chap. xiv, of the *Kings of Persia*, Teixeira tells us of Kaykaus settling the affairs of "the kingdom of Amon in Arabia;" and in chap. xxix he relates how Baharon passed over with an army into Arabia, "where, besides other territories, he subjected the kingdom of Hamon (which is the country of the Amanites, which to this day has the same name). It must, however, be noted that there is a difference between Hyaman and Hamon, although both of them are kingdoms in Arabia, near to that of Sabah, which is also therein." Here "Hamon" = 'Omán, and by "Hyaman" is probably meant Yaman, the ancient name of the people of which was Saba.

[8] As in Teixeira's version, no date is given for the reign of the founder of the kingdom of Hormuz. (It will be seen that this earlier translator of Ṭúrán Sháh's Chronicle omits all dates.)

on the coast of Persia had belonged to his predecessors, and through the carelessness of some of them had been lost, depopulated, and wasted;[1] that he had determined to cross over to them in person with the chief men of his kingdom who wished to follow him, and with certain of the people, in order to found some cities and towns in that country, so that it might become of profit, since it was a good land. And thus his kingdom and fame would be increased; and he would leave to govern Arabia his eldest son, who was a man that would rule it well. All having agreed that his determination seemed good to them, he at once commanded to make ready a large force, many of his chief men following him; and setting out from Amão he came to Calciate,[2] which is near the sea in the same Arabia. It seemed good to him and to his followers to found in that port a city, inasmuch as it was a place suitable for those of the country to trade with the ships that passed that way; wherefore his son remained there with many people, carrying out the determination of his father and those of his council; and the city went on prospering in the course of time to such an extent, that at the present day its ruins show the city of Calciate to have been a very great and noble one.[3]

King Mahometh, having given orders regarding the affairs of Arabia and those of Calciate, embarked, with the people that he had selected for his company, in a large number of ships that he had commanded to be made ready, and crossed over to the coast of Persia, arriving at the Cape of Jasques, which is where Hormuz now is,[4] thirty leagues outside the Strait. And seeing that land and its position, it did not seem to him suitable to make a settlement there; wherefore he continued his journey into the Strait along the coast, and arrived at a tract of country that they then called Hormuz, which is near that which they now call Magostam and Braamim,[5] which they now call Costeca;[6] it is over against what is now called Hormuz on the coast of Persia.

The king and his followers being pleased with the country determined to settle and make their residence there; and they therefore at once set about building houses and improving the

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[1] This statement is not found in Teixeira's version.

[2] An error for "Caliate." I cannot explain how the superfluous *c* got in here, and in the other places below where the name occurs.

[3] Regarding Kalhát, see *supra*, p. 154, *n.*

[4] These words seem to have got in here by some mistake, Cape Jashk being a long way from Hormuz, as the writer himself shows a few lines further on.

[5] The Map of Arabia at p. 80, vol. i, of the *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, has "o brami;" Barbosa (p. 36) has "Ebrahemi;" and Ortelius (Atlas, 1570) has "Braimu."

[6] See *supra*, p. 155, *n.*

country. And because this king was very liberal, and showed much favour to the poor people of the country and the husbandmen, and entertained strangers well, he was very greatly and universally beloved by all those who had knowledge of him. And the fame of his virtues and nobility spreading to all parts round about, much people came to live under his protection and rule. This was the reason why, in a very short time, this new city became very illustrious. The fame of his virtues and goodness spreading to all the kings of that Strait, both of Persia and of the other parts of Arabia, they all sent to seek him with great presents, showing the great pleasure they had at having him as a neighbour. This king, seeing himself prosperous in this country and in favour with all his neighbours, and with much people, in order the more to gain the love of all, commanded money to be coined, which was lacking in the country, the which greatly increased the love of all towards him, and at the same time the prosperity of his country. Because of this benefit that he conferred on all that country, by inventing money for it, they generally called him Deranquu,[1] which means, "stamp of money."[2]

After the city of Ormuz had been founded on the coast of Persia, and had become prosperous with much people and riches, the king commanded his chief men to go to the territories of Magostam, and to take each one what seemed to him best, in order that he might improve it and cause it to be inhabited, by founding divers towns. This they did; and each one took the land that seemed good to him, and improved it, and caused it to be inhabited; and each one gave to the land that he occupied his own name, by which every one of those countries is called to-day.[3]

And because the kings that succeeded Mahometh[4] were powerful and very good in governing, they kept the country prosperous in their succeeding reigns, increasing in population and magnificence. And the sons that descended from these were continuously such, that the fathers in their lifetime intrusted to them the government of the kingdom, they themselves becoming weary of it in their old age. It was a custom amongst these kings, in order that the memory of their predecessors might not perish,

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[1] Teixeira (*supra*, p. 155) spells it "Dramku." It represents Pers. *diram* = money, and *kob* = striking, beating (cf. *zar-kob* = goldsmith).

[2] *In orig.* "*Cello de moeda.*" Purchas (*u. s.*) has "seale of money."

[3] The statements in this paragraph do not appear in Teixeira's version.

[4] The Dominican translator, it will be seen, records the names of only two of Mahometh's successors, viz., "Cabadim" and "Pachaturunxa," and gives very few details of the history of Hormuz.

that when they reached the tenth generation, they began their denominations anew, the ten following beginning to take the names of the ten preceding. So that the first of the ten had to take the name of the founder: and thus in order until the number of ten was completed.[1] This order was preserved for some years, the rule going in the direct line. Afterwards this order and custom perished, because some, through covetousness of reigning, put to death the others, and many were blinded[2] by others who wished to have the rule of the kingdom.

But there is one great and notable thing about this kingdom, that although many governed tyrannically, putting to death the rightful kings, up to the present time there has never reigned any one that was not of the royal line.[3] Only that, as Hormuz was on the coast of Persia, on the death of one who then reigned,[4] and there being in the country none of the royal family, the *goazil*, that is, the governor of the kingdom, declared himself king.[5] At this time a son-in-law of the deceased king, who was his nephew,[6] had gone by command of his uncle with a large armed force against the island and city of Cays.[7] The news was brought to him that his uncle had died, and that the *goazil* had declared himself king; whereupon he at once raised the siege of Cays, and with all the men that he had with him set out for Ormuz.[8] Arriving there, he was received by all with very great manifestations of delight and rejoicings, because they were very sorrowful at having for a king a man who was not of the royal family; wherefore, with great rejoicings, they proclaimed as king the nephew of the king. He at once commanded the *goazil* who had set himself up as king, and all his followers, to be beheaded.[9]

¶ After the direct line of succession to the throne had been broken, there was not such good rule in the kingdom, nor did the

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[1] Teixeira's version makes no mention of any such custom, nor is the statement borne out by the names of the kings as recorded.

[2] See *supra*, p. 186.

[3] This is not consistent with the statement in Teixeira's version (*supra*, p. 160) that "Amir Bahadin Ayaz Seyfin," the fifteenth king of Old Hormuz and founder of the island kingdom, was a slave.

[4] Mir Xabadin Molongh, the ninth king, according to Teixeira (see *supra*, p. 158).

[5] According to Teixeira (*ubi supra*), it was the wazir (*goazil* or *guazil* is the Portuguese corruption of this word) Rex Xarear.

[6] Amir Seyfadin Aben Azar, Teixeira (*supra*, p. 157) calls him.

[7] Teixeira's version says that he succeeded his father as king of Keys.

[8] According to Teixeira's version, the people of Keys dethroned him, and he fled for his life to Hormuz.

[9] Teixeira, it will be seen (*supra*, p. 158), adds some details regarding the usurper's resistance.

affairs thereof prosper, but they went on falling into decay, so that it had no longer such power to resist its enemies. War among the neighbouring kings increasing, it happened that the king of Cremam,[1] which is in the interior of Persia, came with many men and powerfully equipped against Hormuz to destroy it. King Cabadim,[2] who at the time reigned in Hormuz, not daring to await the attack and power of the king of Cremam, embarked with all the people that could go, and, leaving the country abandoned, betook himself to the island called Queixome, which is near to the island of Ormuz. After he had been there a few months, it appearing to him that he was not safe there, on account of its being somewhat large, so that he could not well defend himself there, he thereupon crossed over with his people to the island that is now called Hormuz, because it was more convenient, thinking that he could there better defend himself against any foes.[3]

This island was formerly uninhabited, except by a few poor fishermen; and they called it Jarum, which means "jungle."[4] For the whole island is as it were of salt,[5] and the soil almost entirely impregnated with salt, because certain streams that flow through it, which come from a hilly range in the midst thereof, are of saline water, and on the edges of the water is the salt as white as snow; and whoever wishes to cross the stream goes over on the top of the salt. The peaks of the range also are in some parts of salt, which the ships take as ballast to India. Nevertheless there grow in the soil some poor clumps of jungle, and some trees like jujube-trees,[6] which yield certain fruit that the Portuguese call

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[1] The "Kermon" of Teixeira, who, however, says (*supra*, p. 160), that it was great hordes of Turks who, in A.D. 1302, came out of Turkestán, and, after conquering the kingdom of Karmán, proceeded to attack Hormuz.

[2] Teixeira (*supra*, p. 160) calls him Mir Bahadin Ayaz Seyfin (fifteenth king of Hormuz). "Cabadim" may be a printer's misreading for "Bahadim."

[3] Teixeira (*supra*, p. 162) does not give any reason for the Hormuzis' change of location.

[4] Purchas (*op. cit.*) has "a Wood;" but "jungle" better conveys the sense of the Portuguese *mato*. I can find no Persian word like *jarún*, meaning "jungle;" but *jaran* means "coarse, uneven, and stony ground" (Johnson's *Pers.-Arab.-Eng. Dict.*). It will be noticed that Teixeira (*supra*, p. 162) derives the name of the island from that of the old fisherman, who, he says, lived there with his wife.

[5] Cf. the following description with Teixeira's (*supra*, p. 164, *et seq.*).

[6] *In orig.* "*maceiras Danafega.*" Purchas has "Apple trees of *Anafega*," and in the margin "A place and fruit so called." (According to Dozy-Engelmann's *Glossaire des Mots Espagnols et Portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*, *anafega* is from Arab. *an-nabikat*=the fruit of the lote-tree.) Teixeira (*supra*, p. 166) calls the trees *conar*.

maçaãs pequenas,[1] like jujubes, but which are bad eating, which obtain an existence by virtue of the rain-water.[2] Wherefore, because of the island's being sterile, and producing only what I have said, owing to its being saline, they called it Jarum. Moreover, through being uninhabited, it was in former times smaller and more convenient than it now is; for even yet the people of the country show the places to which the sea used to come.[3]

King Cabadim then having disembarked on this island, and determined to settle there, began to build houses for himself and his people to dwell in,[4] and there they made shift with what they got by going to the countries round about. Moreover, because, when the king of Cremam returned to his dominions, they went back again to resume possession of the lands they had formerly held, and cultivated them; and because the city founded in the island of Jarum prospered, and they made it the capital of the kingdom, those that succeeded gave it the name of Hormuz, which it retains up to the present time, which was the name of the chief city that they had on the mainland, and which was destroyed by the king of Cremam.[5]

¶ It is to be noted, that in this Strait of Ormuz, some leagues further in than Ormuz, is an island called Cays,[6] in which was founded in those times a very wealthy and very magnificent city, the memory of which continues even to-day among those of the country; and, though now the island is deserted, there are still seen the remains of the ancient buildings that existed there. This island and city were very wealthy, and very populous and prosperous, because of the great traffic of ships that came together there from all parts of India with many riches and very great quantities of merchandize; and owing to the great concourse of people from Persia and Arabia who came to that place to seek the wares that came there from India, also bringing very rich goods, in exchange for which, or for the money that they made by them, they bought those that came there from India. So that all the riches that Hormuz now has, and all the trade, were at that

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[1] Lit. "little apples."

[2] Purchas has "for they are sustained and liue by the raine water," as if that were the cause of their being poor eating.

[3] The above statements are not found in Teixeira's description of the island; the Dominican writer here speaks apparently from his own observation.

[4] Teixeira (*supra*, p. 162) says, that the island belonged to Neyn, king of Keys, who, through the good offices of the mullá Xeque Ismaél, was inclined to present it to Ayáz, but that the latter insisted on paying for it.

[5] Purchas has here, by a printer's error probably, "Geman."

[6] Cf. what follows with the Teixeira's statements, *supra*, p. 162.

time possessed by the island of Cays, that which is now called Hormuz being, as I have said, uninhabited.

At[1] the time that Hormuz was prosperous on the mainland of Persia the kings were at many times at war with the inhabitants of the island of Cays; and they had often come against it with great array of battle, killing many of the people, and inflicting many injuries upon it.[2] The lord of Cays, seeing himself ill-treated by the king of Hormuz, made a treaty of peace with him, binding himself to be tributary to him.[3] The treaty was made and confirmed, and those of Cays paid the tribute as long as the kings of Ormuz were prosperous on the mainland of Persia.[4] But when these became weak and disorganised they were no longer willing to pay it. And because after the kings of Ormuz crossed over from the mainland to the island that they afterwards called Hormuz they continued to prosper greatly in people and grandeur of buildings; and at the same time[5] the ships that had regularly come from India to Cays now began to frequent Hormuz, whereby they withdrew much profit from those of Cays; the latter becoming frightened on account of their disobedience, and because they had rebelled in the matter of the tribute, lest there should happen to them some evils worse than those they had received from the kings of Ormuz; and also fearing that these would prosper so in the trade as to deprive them of the whole of it (for they saw that it was already diminishing); the lord of Cays wrote to a king of Persia to whom he was then subject, who was called the king of Xiras[6] (which even now is a kingdom by itself), that by all means and without any delay he would come with a large army to destroy the city that was increasing in prosperity in the island of Jarum; because if he did not do so Cays would lose the whole of its dominion, prosperity, and trade; since it was already being deprived of it by the city recently founded in Jarum. The king of Xiras gave no heed to this embassy,[7] and let it be understood that however much it might prosper it would not be difficult for him to destroy it at any time.

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[1] All that follows, down to the end of the paragraph concluding with the words "the conquest of Ormuz," is omitted by Purchas, who mentions this fact in a marginal note.

[2] See *supra*, p. 158.

[3] *Sic in orig.*

[4] Teixeira does not mention this treaty until later on, when dealing with the reign of Amir Ayzadin Gordon Xá (see *supra*, p. 169). He says nothing, however, of any payment of tribute.

[5] Cf. what follows with Teixeira's account (*supra*, p. 169 *et seq.*).

[6] Malek Ayzadin, governor of Χyráz, according to Teixeira (*u. s.*).

[7] Teixeira says nothing of the refusal of immediate assistance by the governor of Shiráz, and of the curious expedient adopted by the ruler of Kais to obtain the help he so urgently needed.

Nevertheless the lord of Cays, seeing the danger resulting from delay, again wrote to the king of Xiras, that on no account should he tarry, as great danger would result. And in order to make him understand the speed with which it was necessary that he should come, he used this metaphor: that he would know what haste was needed, as he informed him that his head remained dirty because he could not wash it.[1] The king of Xiras having seen this, at once got ready his forces, and proceeded to the island of Cays, where he prepared many boats, called by them *terradas*,[2] and in these crossed over with his forces to the island of Angam, which is two leagues from Ormuz, where the king of Ormuz attacked him and gave him battle, and defeated him.[3] And having been defeated, though not utterly,[4] he sent a proposal to the king of Ormuz, that he should give up to him his treasures and those of his predecessors; and he would then go away and leave him in peace; and that, if he were not willing to do this, he would wage war on him with fire and sword until he had utterly destroyed him. To these words the king of Ormuz replied, asking, how a man of such low origin as he was, who was descended from merchants, dared to propose such a thing to a king who came of such an ancient race of kings, who in Amão were always most noble knights, and had always been so up to their occupation of that island which was now called Hormuz; and that he did not intend to be unworthy of his ancestry, as he had nothing to fear from him. (Even yet the kings of Ormuz take to themselves much glory in being descended from such a very ancient race as the kings of Amão, and give themselves out as related to a lord that lives in Arabia who is called the Catane,[5] and despise the others, considering themselves better and nobler on account of antiquity than they.)

Seeing himself thus affronted, the king of Xiras returned to Cays, and reinforced himself afresh with troops, and more ships, and returned with greater force against Hormuz;[6] and, not

[1] Only an Oriental could fully appreciate the significance of such a message.

[2] See *supra*, p. 22, *n.*

[3] Teixeira relates several antecedent events that are not recorded by the Dominican writer.

[4] All the details that follow of the interchange of messages between the hostile leaders are omitted by Teixeira, who merely records the rejection of the peace overtures made by the Kaisis, and their second defeat by the Hormuzis.

[5] "Catane"=Arab. Kahtán, *i.e.*, Joktan, from whom the tribes and districts of south-eastern Arabia traced their descent (see *Imâms of 'Omân*, p. vi; Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. i, p. 453; Sayce's *Races of the Old Testament*, p. 65).

[6] According to Teixeira (*supra*, p. 170), this was in A.D. 1315; the previous expedition having taken place, apparently, the year before.

daring to give battle to the king, strove cunningly to come to parley with him, and craftily seized him,[1] and sent him captive to the island of Cays, and he himself proceeded to lay siege to the island of Ormuz.[2] The siege was sustained by another, who had been elected king by advice that the king who was taken prisoner managed to send.[3] The siege lasted several months. Then the king of Xiras, seeing that he could not take Hormuz, and that the winter was coming on, and that it would not be safe for him to go by sea, returned to Cays, with the resolve to come back once more against Hormuz the following year.

He returned thence in six months, bringing with him the king of Ormuz whom he had captured. But on the voyage a tempest overtook him, which scattered and destroyed his fleet. And it happened in this dispersal, that the *terrada* in which was the king of Ormuz who had been captured came to land at Hormuz, where he who was acting as king was not willing to receive him with honour; wherefore,[4] after having been some days in Hormuz, he crossed over to Costeca, where Hormuz was formerly.[5] Some days thereafter it happened, that he that was acting as king of Ormuz found it necessary to go to war with a people that then lived where now dwell the Noutaques,[6] who are great sea-robbers.[7] The real king, who was in Costeca, hearing of this, crossed over to Hormuz, and was received by the inhabitants as their king and lord, with great honors and rejoicings; and he reigned peacefully until his death.[8] The king of Xiras did not care to tempt Fortune again, and departed for his kingdom, abandoning the conquest of Ormuz.[9]

¶ The king of Ormuz,[10] seeing the evils that had come upon him

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[1] Teixeira, who is fuller in detail here, describes how this was effected.

[2] Teixeira has it, that the king of Keys carried off Gordonxá captive in his *terrada* to Keys, whence he returned after five months, bringing his captive with him, to besiege Hormuz once more. This corresponds with what the Dominican translator records further on.

[3] According to Teixeira (*supra*, p. 171), Bibi Sultan, wife of Gordonxá, had requested her nephew, Malek Guayxadin Dinar, to act as regent.

[4] The details that follow differ in some respects from those given by Teixeira (see *supra*, p. 171).

[5] "And dwelt in the fortress of Minab," says Teixeira.

[6] See *supra*, pp. 21, 162.

[7] According to Teixeira, the usurper, finding that the troops were deserting him, fled for safety to Makron (Makrán).

[8] Which took place in A.D. 1318, *teste* Teixeira.

[9] This is not stated in Teixeira's account.

[10] According to Teixeira (*supra*, p. 173 ff.), this was Mir Xá Kodbadin, son of Gordonxá. The Dominican writer has here skipped over a number of events.

through the *goazil* of Cays,[1] went against him with a large army, and having besieged him for some days without being able to conquer him, returned to Hormuz as the winter was approaching. He came back the following year, and took it and sacked it, and left in it a *goazil* of his own choice, with many men. The defeated *goazil* managed to escape, and fled in a *terrada* to the island of Barem; by favor of the *goazil* of Barem he equipped himself anew in Barem, and returned against Cays; and cunningly coming to parley with the *goazil* whom the king of Ormuz had left there to guard the city, seized him and put out his eyes, and resumed the government of Cays.[2]

But there succeeding to the throne of Ormuz Pachaturunxa,[3] who was the author of this Chronicle, and who reigned some three hundred years,[4] a little more or less, he brought it under his rule;[5] and from that time forward it always remained subject to the kingdom of Ormuz. And then this Pachaturunxa subjected the island of Barem as a punishment for the favour that it had given to the *goazil* of Cays.[6]

And so the kings of Ormuz went on prospering in such manner that they became rulers of all the islands in this Strait, and all the country along the coast of Arabia as far as Lassa[7] and Catiffa,[8] and also others on the shore of Persia, by which they formed a very great, rich and prosperous kingdom: principally because the trade of Cays passed entirely to the island that is now called Hormuz; wherefore Cays was utterly ruined, both in buildings and in wealth, so that it is now totally deserted, after having been the chief place of those parts.[9]

And Hormuz,[10] from having been a sterile and desert island, and a mountain of salt, is, among all the wealthy countries of

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[1] Purchas here inserts "(which had provoked the King of *Xiras* against him)," all the foregoing details having been omitted by him, as noted above (p. 261).

[2] In the above account the events of different years appear to be confused (cf. Teixeira's narrative, *supra*, pp. 173 ff., 183 ff., and 186 ff.).

[3] In A.D. 1347, according to Teixeira (*supra*, p. 186).

[4] Or "three hundred years ago." The original has "*reynou auera trezẽtos ãnos*," where I think *trezẽtos* is a *lapsus pennæ* for "*trinta*" (thirty). In any case, "three hundred years ago," if the correct rendering, would not agree with the statement of Teixeira, that Ṭúrán Sháh reigned 1347-1378.

[5] See Teixeira, *ubi supra*.

[6] See *supra*, p. 186 *et seq.*

[7] See *supra*, pp. 29, 174.

[8] See *supra*, pp. 26, 188. (Cf. also p. 217.)

[9] Cf. *supra*, p. 261.

[10] Cf. what follows with Teixeira's fuller description, *supra*, p. 164, *et seq.*; Barbosa, p. 41, *et seq.*; Linschoten, vol. i, chap. vi; *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. iv, chap. xliii; Pyrard, vol. ii, chap. xviii.

India, one of the wealthiest, through the many and rich goods that come thither from all parts of India, and from the whole of Arabia and of Persia, as far as the territories of the Mogores,[1] and even from Russia in Europe I saw merchants there, and from Venice. And thus the inhabitants of Ormuz say that the whole world is a ring and Hormuz is the stone thereof.[2] Wherefore it is commonly said, that the custom-house of Ormuz is a conduit of silver that is always running. The last year[3] that I was in Hormuz—having been there three—the officials assured me that the custom-house had yielded one hundred and fifty thousand *pardaos* for the King of Portugal; beside what it is to be presumed is stolen by the Moors and the *goazil*, who are officers of the custom-house.[4]

And, even though this country yields no fruit, and has no water nor provisions, it has plenty of flesh, bread, rice, and much fish, and many and very good fruits, with which it is supplied from many parts, chiefly from Persia,[5] whence come many pears, and peaches, plums, apples, grapes, figs, and quinces, of which they

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[1] The Mongols, Moguls, or Mughals (see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* "Mogul").

[2] The writer again quotes this well-known saying further on. Regarding it, see *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, vol. iv, p. 186; Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 240, and footnote; Burton's *Camoens: Life and Lusiads*, vol. iv, p. 504.

[3] 1569 probably (see *supra*, p. 256, *n.*).

[4] In Simão Botelho's *Tombo do Estado da India*, ff. 76, 78, will be found the Hormuz custom-house returns for each year, from 1523 to 1550. The calculations are, however, in xerafins and çadis. In the "tractate of the *Portugal Indies*," by the Viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes, translated in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. ii, p. 1506 *et seq.*, it is stated (p. 1522):—"*Ormus* Fortresse yeeldeth to the King euery yeare 170000. Pardaos de Tangas, which is 51000000. of Reys at 300. Reys the Pardao, and is thirtie one thousand eight hundred seventie fiue pounds sterling, counting one yeare with another, which is the rent of the Custome-house that was giuen to his Maiestie, with some other duties that are paid to him, as in this Title is declared, &c." This was written *circa* 1585-87. On January 2nd, 1596, however, the King of Spain wrote to the Viceroy of India complaining of the small return from the Hormuz custom-house, which used to be one of the greatest revenue-producers in India; and saying that Mathias de Albuquerque had written that in August 1594 the custom-house at Hormuz had yielded only thirty thousand *pardaos*. With respect to what the Dominican writer says as to peculation by "the Moors and the *goazil*," I may mention that the *alvará* referred to on p. 194, *supra* (of March 18th, 1569), shows that the captain, factor and other officials of Hormuz were robbing the King of Hormuz of "*cabayas*, horses, arrack rents and other things."

[5] Here the translation in Purchas ends with an "&c."

make marmalades[1] to supply the whole of India. Thence also the whole of India is supplied with raisins[2] for the sick, and with wine, and dried plums and almonds for the sick; and for delicious dainties. There also come thither many melons at two seasons, which are very good, with the stripes and of the appearance of those of Abrantes. The first arrive from the 15th of March onwards, up till about the end of April. Then come others that last from July till September. There is also much fruit that comes there from Persia and Arabia, which they call *mangas*, which is a very good fruit.[3] The pomegranates that come from Persia are not surpassed by those of Seville. And the pears and apples in December and January: all these fruits arriving in such condition that they appear freshly picked from the trees, and they are very good. There also come there from Persia many nuts, vegetables, oranges, lemons, and many other provisions. Of the merchandise I say nothing, because thither come all the riches of the whole world, and thence they go to all parts.[4] So that with just reason they say, that the whole world is a ring and Hormuz the stone, though in itself it produces nothing but salt. It is very well supplied with water, both from the mainland of Persia and from the islands around.[5] So that, whilst having nothing itself, it has all riches and abundance of everything that is brought to it from without.

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[1] Cf. Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 240, and footnote (the note at p. 48 of vol. i of Linschoten is not quite correct). See also Garcia de Orta, f. 222 *v*, on marmalade from the *marmel* or bael fruit.

[2] The orig. has *paffas*, an evident misprint for *passas*, which means dried figs, raisins, currants, etc.

[3] On mangoes, see Garcia de Orta, *Colloquio XXXIV*; and Linschoten, vol. ii, chap. xi. The former says that those of Hormuz were the most extolled (*gabadas*).

[4] Cf. the list given by Barbosa, p. 42. See also *supra*, p. 252.

[5] Cf. Barbosa, pp. 35, 44; Linschoten, vol. i, p. 52.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page iii, note 2, line 2, and note 4, line 6, for "vol. xvii," read "vol. vii."

„ xiv, note 1, line 3, and note 2, line 2, for "vol. xvii," read "vol. vii."

„ lxii, note 2, add at end :—"A narrative of the outward voyage of the *Leeuwin*, by Frederik de Houtman, appears to be extant among the archives at Batavia (see Gray's Pyrard, vol. i, p. 31, *n.*, and vol. ii, p. 490, *n.*)."

„ 1, note 2, line 2, for "1599," read "1598."

„ 5, note 5. I find that the description of the *cofo* quoted from the *Itinerario* of Ant. Tenreiro is copied by the latter from Castanheda, Liv. II, cap. lviii (or else Castanheda had access to Tenreiro's MS.).

„ 6, note 1, add after "Sarbatane" :—"and Hak. Soc. ed. of Pyrard, vol. ii, p. 165, *n.*"

„ 17, note, line 1, for "Vasco," read "Francisco ;" last line, for "January," read "May 19."

„ 55, line 18, to the sentence ending "hard" should be a footnote :—"See *infra*, p. 56 ; and cf. *The Voyage . . . of M. Cæsar Fredericke* (1588), p. 3 : 'Neere vnto the riuer *Euphrates*, there is a citie called *Ayit*, neere vnto which citie, there is a great plaine full of pitch, . . . and by this pitch, the people haue great benefite, to pitch their barks, which barks they call *Daneck* and *Saffin*' (the original has *danec* and *safine*). Ralph Fitch, who copies wholesale from this writer, says : 'Their boates be called *Danec*' (Ryley's *Ralph Fitch*, p. 53). I am uncertain regarding the origin of *daneca;* but cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, and *New. Eng. Dict.*, *s.vv.*, 'Dingy, Dinghy, Dingey.'—D. F."

„ 64, note 3, add :—"Teixeira, in Bk. I, chap. lv, of his *Kings of Persia*, records the erection of this building by 'Mirzah Sultan Oçem' (1471-1506)."

„ 73, note 1, last line, add after "Cadjowa" :—"These panniers are called 'muhaffees' by Henry Abbott, who depicts them in a plate at p. 36 of his *Journal . . . from Aleppo to Bussora*, etc., Calcutta, 1879."

„ 111, note 1, last line, add :—"[Perhaps the 'Mucksoofa' of H. Abbott, *Journal*, etc., p. 32.—D. F.]"

„ 115, note 1, lines 2-4. I find that Couto has copied the legend regarding the origin of the name of Aleppo from Garcia de Orta, f. 193.

„ 121, note 3, line 2, add :—"[See *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. v.* 'Cane,' 3. b.—D. F.]"

Page 160, note 2. Sirján is *not* "an alternative name of Kermán ; the two cities were quite distinct (see *Royal As. Soc. Jour.*, 1901 pp. 281-290 ; 1902, p. 423).

„ 164, note 4, add at end :—"Barros, in enumerating the places on the Persian coast subject to the rule of Hormuz, names the ports of 'Cuzte' (Kuhistuk), 'Chacoa' (?), 'Brainy' (for 'Braimy' = Bandar Ibrahím), 'Ducat' (for 'Duçar'), and 'Agon' (?) ; and adds : 'at these last two ports arrive the *cafilas* of Persia' (*Dec. II*, Liv. XI, cap. vii)."

„ 173, line 1, for "when he had taken a post on their route," read "having set out" (orig. has "*puesto en camino*").

„ 181, note 6, add :—"Among the villages enumerated by Barros (*Dec. II*, Liv. XI, cap. vii) as paying rents to the crown of Hormuz is 'Queringon, which is in Mogostão,' evidently identical with Teixeira's 'Kolongon.'"

„ 191, note 3, add at end :—"Varthema, who professes to have visited Hormuz *circa* 1504, relates circumstantially, as having occurred while he was in the island, the murder of the sultan by his eldest son, the latter, in his turn, being slain by an Abyssinian slave, who, after occupying the throne for twenty days, resigned it in favour of a younger brother of the parricide (Hakluyt Soc. ed. of Varthema, pp. 96-99). The whole story looks like an invention of this hare-brained traveller's."

„ 202, note 6, line 5, for "fifty," read "thirty." At end of note add :—"Dos Santos, who devotes a whole chapter of his book to the subject of amber(gris), records the casting ashore at Brava in 1596 of a huge mass of this substance (*Ethiopia Oriental*, Pt. I, Liv. I, cap. xxviii ; Theal's *Records of South African History*, vol. vii, p. 249). This may possibly be the same mass referred to by Teixeira, who may have given the wrong date."

„ 205, line 19, for "province," read "city."

„ 208, note 3, lines 9 and 10, for "Selim II," read "Salím I," and delete the dates in parentheses.

„ 218, note 4, line 4, for "Mr.," read "Gen. ;" and line 6, for "vol. iii," read "vol. xiii."

„ 222, note 4, line 2, insert :—"Couto (*Dec. X*, Liv. IX, cap. vii) mentions the Celetes simply as fishers."

„ 225, note 2, line 1, for "1599," read "1598 ;" and line 2, for "Martin," read "Martim."

„ 228, note continued from previous page, line 2, for "and is known," read "and the resin is known."

„ 230, note 3, line 2, for "Banjarasin," read "Banjarmasin."

„ 232, note 7, last line, after "happened," insert "either between September, 1586, and January, 1587, or.

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